

FUNCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ROYAL PALACES FROM THE MIDDLE KINGDOM TO THE SAITE PERIOD.

A LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDY AND ITS POSSIBLE CONNECTION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

by

Giulia Pagliari



A thesis submitted to

The University of Birmingham and 'Sapienza', Università di Roma

for the Joint-Phd program in 'Studi Filologici e Letterari del Vicino Oriente Antico e l'Iran Pre-islamico'.

Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity
The University of Birmingham
Supervisor: Dr. Martin Bommas

Dipartimento di Studi Orientali
'Sapienza', Università di Roma
Supervisor: Dr.ssa Loredana Sist

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION	I-X
--------------	-----

PART I. LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDY. THE ROYAL PALACE IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TEXTS.

Chapter 1. Middle Kingdom textual sources

1.1 Introduction	1-6
1.2 The term <i>‘h</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	7-18
1.3 The term <i>‘h</i> in titles and epithets	18-29
1.4 The term <i>pr-‘3</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	29-36
1.5 The term <i>pr-‘3</i> in titles and epithets	36-41
1.6 The term <i>pr-nswt</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	41-43
1.7	44-53
1.8 The term <i>hnw</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	53-63
1.9 The term <i>hnw</i> in titles and epithets	63-65
1.10 The term <i>stp-s3</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	66-67
1.11 The term <i>stp-s3</i> in titles and epithets	67-69
1.12 Itjtawy and Thebes	69-71
1.13 Conclusions	71-78

Chapter 2. New Kingdom textual sources

2.1 Introduction	79-83
2.2 The term <i>‘h</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	83-92
2.3 The term <i>‘h</i> in titles and epithets	92-101
2.4 The term <i>pr-‘3</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	101-108
2.5 The term <i>pr-‘3</i> in titles and epithets	108-115
2.6 The term <i>pr-nswt</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	115-127
2.7 The term <i>pr-nswt</i> in titles and epithets	127-134
2.8 The term <i>hnw</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	135-142
2.9 Titles and epithets compound with term <i>hnw</i>	142-145
2.10 The term <i>stp-s3</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	145-150
2.11 The term <i>stp-s3</i> in titles and epithets	150-155
2.12 The palaces at Karnak, Memphis and Piramesse	155-165
2.13 The case of Amarna	165-168
2.14 Conclusions	169-180

Chapter 3. Late Period textual sources

3.1 Introduction	181-183
3.2 The term <i>‘h</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	183-187
3.3 The term <i>pr-‘3</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	187-192
3.4 The term <i>pr-nswt</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	192-193
3.5 The term <i>hnw</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	193-196
3.6 The “palace”-words in epithets and private inscriptions	196-198
3.7 Conclusions	198-200

Chapter 4. Recognition of the 'h-palace in archaeological evidences

4.1 Introduction	200-205
4.2 Architectural features of the "ceremonial palace"	205-214
4.3 Identification of the "ceremonial palace" in written sources	214-226
4.4 The term <i>pr-ʿ3</i> in official monuments and narrative inscriptions	226-230

CONCLUSIONS	231-232
-------------	---------

The usage of term 'h	232-243
The usage of term <i>pr-nswt</i>	243-244
The usage of term <i>stp-s3</i>	245-247
The usage of term <i>hnw</i>	247-249
The usage of term <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	249-253
The <i>d3dw</i> as specific section of the 'h	254-256
The <i>wʿw</i>	257-259
The <i>dsrw</i>	259-261
The 'ryt/'rryt	261-263
The <i>wsht</i>	263-264
The 'hnwty	265-266
The <i>hnty</i>	266-267
The <i>k3p</i>	267-268
The <i>šn'</i>	268-269
The <i>w3hy</i>	269-270
The <i>h3 n t3ty</i>	270-271
The 't	271-275

PLATES	276-312
LISTS OF PLATES	314-316
BIBLIOGRAPHY	317-376

PART II. CATALOGUE.

CATALOGUE	373-967
-----------	---------

APPENDIX ONE. LISTS OF SOURCES	968-1001
--------------------------------	----------

APPENDIX TWO. SYNOPSIS OF THE USAGE OF THE EGYPTIAN WORDS FOR "PALACE"	1002-1072
--	-----------

ḥd(-t3).n rf dw3 sp 2 iw iw(w) i3š n.i
10 (n) s m iwt 10 (n) s m šms ḥr st3.i r 'ḥ
dhn.n.i t3 im(y)t(w) šspw
msw-nswt 'ḥ'(w) m wmt ḥr irt ḥsfw.i
smrw st3w r w3ḥy ḥr rdt.i ḥr w3t 'hnwt(y)
gm.n.i ḥm.f ḥr st wrt m wmt nt d'm
wn.k(wi) rf dwn.kwi ḥr ht.i
ḥm.n.(i) wi m b3ḥ.f

When it was dawn, very early, they came and summoned me;
Ten men coming, ten men going, ushering me to the 'ḥ.
(There) I touched the ground between the sphinxes
as the royal children stood in the portal, receiving me;
and the Friends who ushered to the Pillared Hall
were showing me the way to the Audience Hall.
I found His Majesty on the great throne in the portal of electrum.
Then I was stretched out prostrate,
unconscious of myself in front of him (..)

(Tale of Sinuhe - pBerlin 3022, B 248-253)¹

INTRODUCTION

Philological evidence shows a significant variety in Egyptian terminology for the “royal palace”: five words referring to the palace institution have been identified in written sources: *'ḥ*, *pr-'3*, *pr-nswt*, *hnw* and *stp-s3*. This lexical scope meets the planimetric variety of ancient Egyptian royal palaces, with their different extension and organization of inner spaces, suggesting that they had to fulfil a broad range of different functions. The architectural study of archaeological sources combined with the lexicographical research aims to identify such different functions. The actual work would not have been possible without a previous detailed study of the archeological evidences of ancient Egyptian palaces that I could conduct for my Master Degree. Starting with an architectural analysis of archaeologically known royal palaces, some common features may have been identified at

¹ Translation: Parkinson 1997: 40.

the basis of their construction.² These recurring models may have been intentional to ensure the performance of certain activities in a particular repeated arrangement of spaces. Royal palaces with a similar planimetric scheme may have served one or more specific functions. The main attempt of this work is to define the meaning of each term for “palace” in different contexts in order to derive from this what these terms would have been for and to observe a possible correspondence between words and architectural typologies with the same function. Another major objective will be to go deep into the interrelation of palace-terms and the parts or sections they could refer to. Specific words, referring to inner spaces of the royal building, will be treated by considering their connection with the five names for “palace” in official documents and private titles. Many architectural terms usually connected by scholars to the royal palace have no grammatical relationship with the five words for it. In order to verify their physical connection with royal buildings and their exact position in each of them, this research will concentrate upon the sequence in which they appear in private titles and their combination in narrative expressions.³

In order to understand why a term was preferred to another in a specific context, the occurrences of each word have been all virtually collected. Since the present study aims to parallel the results of the architectural analysis with those of the philological research, the sources collected date back from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom and the Late Period. Although sporadic archaeological remains are attested from the Early Dynastic time onwards,⁴ it is only from the Middle Kingdom that the archaeological remains⁵ are rich enough to allow an architectural analysis of the buildings and to add some substantial information to the typically allusive or vague references to palaces found in texts. For this reason the textual evidences used in this study will exclude the Archaic Period and the Old

² For some recent architectural studies of ancient Egyptian royal palaces see Lacovara 2009: 83 ff. Spence 2007: 267 ff. Bietak 2005: 131. Stadelmann 1996: 225 ff. O’Connor 1995: 266 ff. Stadelmann 1994: 309 ff. Lacovara 1997.

³ I will refer to specific studies on private titlings for those palace related titles that do not carry the word “palace”, because it would go beyond the boundary of this study to analyze all the private epithets in their various functions. The main aim of this work is the identification of the meaning and function of the five words used to define the royal palace and the attention will be focused on epithet compounds with each of them.

⁴ Arnold 1982: 643-646. Helck 1982: 647-652.

⁵ Middle Kingdom structures present great difficulty in interpretation and have been only summarily published. At Ezbet Rushdi in the eastern Delta we find a palace dating to the early 12th Dynasty (Adam 1959: 207 ff.). Another palace from the Delta has been unearthed at Tell Basta and has undergone several campaigns of excavation (Farid 1964: 85 ff. Bakr 1982: 153 ff. Van Siclen 1985: 28 ff.). Another Middle Kingdom palace at Tell el-Dab’a has been excavated in the area of Ezbet Helmi and dated to the 13th Dynasty (Jánosi 1992: 345 ff.) The architectural features recognized in these buildings suggest certain affinities with two “campaign palaces” in Nubia, the earlier one at Kor (Vercoutter 1995: 4 ff. Smith 1966: 187 ff.) and the later one at Uronarti (Dunham 1967).

Kingdom, when palaces are too bad-preserved to allow a proper architectural reconstruction of their plans. The study of Late Period texts is mainly focused on 26th Dynasty examples as the palatial architecture of this phase all dates back to the Saite Period and comprises typical mud-brick platforms built on casemate foundations.⁶ A chronological presentation of the material has been chosen in order to allow a consideration of the development of the palace terminology in the course of the time. The dependence on the knowledge of architectural structures will impose chronological jumps, with gaps between one period and another. Although in this way considerations on the chronological development of the royal palace in ancient Egypt will be not complete, it will be possible anyway to highlight significant changes or resistances in both the architectural planning of the structures and the terminology used to define them. Due to such limitations imposed by a philological and archeological combined study, chronological considerations will be discussed at the beginning of each chapter. Few examples from periods other from those considered may be cited to provide comparisons or to plug gaps in the documentation, but whenever this possibility recurs it will be underlined.

The collected data will be organized primarily according to the nature of the citations, thus separating sources into three broad categories: official texts, private inscriptions and literary documents. This subdivision aims to highlight any peculiarities in the use of a word in the official sphere of the king and its relationship with the kingship and the government, in the private sphere and the fictional context of literature.⁷ Beyond these broad classifications, the most important distinction is within each category according to two main grammatical functions of the citations: narrative expressions,⁸ which can be found in royal inscriptions as well as in private autobiographies, and non-narrative captions consisting mainly of official titles and epithets which are contained in private inscriptions or administrative lists. For this reason material having a similar function or a common theme may be treated together, even at the cost of a departure from the planned scheme. For example, when the mention of a specific aspect of the word in an official text is reflected in another type of document, such as a private title, their common features will be treated together in order to understand how a word was used and reflected in more contexts.

⁶ The best preserved royal building of the 26th Dynasty is the palace of Apries at Memphis, in Kemp 1977a: 101 ff. Petrie 1909. For an overview of the casemate foundation platforms see Spencer 1999: 295 ff.

⁷ Assmann 1999a: 3 ff. Moers 1999: 37 ff. Loprieno 1996: 45 ff. Moers 2001.

⁸ For debates on the distinction between “narrative” and “non-narrative” texts and “non-literary” and “literary narrative texts” see Quirke 1996 and Baines 1996: 154 ff.

The primary sources for the study of the meaning of the words are narrative texts, being the most informative of all because of their nature. Here the terms for “palace” are compound with prepositions and verbs within descriptive passages, which are more instructive than short and often honorific titles. Inscriptions on religious and commemorative monuments⁹ texts are particularly useful because they are often intended to accompany illustration of activities related to the inscription itself and they have a narrative nature. Administrative papyri, both complex documents and those containing simple lists of royal personnel, are particularly instructive to reconstruct the organization of the palace and the activities performed within it. The category of the private inscriptions comprises both narrative autobiographies inscribed on the walls of private tombs or other monuments and titles or epithets compound with each term. The first type of sources has the form of verbal narrative accounts and contains more descriptive phrases than lists of epithets. However, the close relationship of the private autobiographies with the didactic literature¹⁰ and their self-presentation genre throw doubt whether these sources can represent the actual attributes or functions of the owners. According to J. Baines, biographies were limited by *decorum* and because they were an idealized description of the highest levels of Egyptian society, they tend to present an idealized description of society.¹¹ Epithets and titles present difficulties of interpretation because of its own nature of short, repetitive and often merely honorary names.¹² Its greatest deficiency consists in the lack of context in which a title occurs, often simply listed together with others titles having no connection with each other. In the case of some titles, it will not possible to list their every single occurrence because of their great frequency in texts, so that the possibility of some omission is high. Despite the inability to list every example of a specific title compound with one of the five words for “palace”, the present work aims at presenting every single possible type of them. Literary texts will be treated with special attention, considering their “fictional” nature.¹³ Despite their narrative structure provides articulated descriptions of the palace in comparison with many private inscriptions, the context in which these texts

⁹ Quirke and other scholars have repeatedly drawn attention to the difficulties involved in inferring administrative structures from monuments whose function was inextricably linked with the spheres of the temple and the tomb. Quirke 2004: 1-5; 15-17. Franke 1984a: 103-124. Martin-Pardey 1986: 533-536. Pressl 1998: 12 f.

¹⁰ Lichtheim 1996: 254.

¹¹ Baines 1987: 90-92.

¹² Several related debates, mainly focused on the Old and Middle Kingdoms, concern how to distinguish between honorary epithets, titles of rank, function and office. Quirke 2004: 107-130. Blumenthal 1987: 10-35. Gestermann 1987: esp. 101 f.; 145 f. Andrassy 1991: 1-10. Strudwick 1985: 172-175. Martin-Pardey 1986: 533-552.

¹³ Parkinson 1996. Parkinson 1997: 3.

were written and to whom they were destined must be considered before drawing any conclusion.

Among the numerous occurrences considered in this study, the same title or expression can be compound with more than one word for “palace”. However, the possibility of finding more terms used in the same expression does not mean that they were necessarily interchangeable. The process of copying texts and reproducing modelled inscription could have determined the insertion of an exceptional word in a given expression rather than another most commonly used. In this case we shall consider the percentage of occurrence of each term, assuming that the most common word is the nearest one to the meaning of a given context.

The examination of the use of each word is based on the grammatical aspects of its citations. The greatest distinction is between sentences and prepositional compounds, including verbs and prepositions, prevailing in narrative texts, and official epithets or title without any verb or auxiliary. The first ones are particularly instructive because of their nature intended to describe activities performed in the palace itself. In this case, the verbs most frequently used in relation to a given term will be distinguished and studied in their semantic value. Prepositions will help to understand the place of performance of the activities described by verbs and their physical connection with the palace.

While cataloguing all narrative texts and captions, the Egyptian palace-words will be rendered by transliterations. Although this chose might appear inconclusive, it aims to not affect an objective reading of the sources. This practice is also conditioned by the fact that the meaning of each term is not univocal and may vary according to the context. The hypothetical translation of each word will be discussed in every single chapter together with the analysis of the philological evidence. The ultimate goal is not to offer a definitive translation to each palace-word, but to identify one or more meanings in relation to the contexts of use and to derive from this an accurate picture of palace’s function and significance. Epithets and their combinations will be most useful in defining the relationship of a specific title with other bureaucratic identities within which an official may have operated. This information will be integrated by knowledge derived by other kind of sources, particularly the administrative monuments.

The purpose of this study is also to provide a collection of nearly every Middle, New Kingdom and Late Period texts containing reference to the royal palace, that I hope it will be used for future studies.

Goelet has conducted a similar study of the five major terms for the palace, specifically based on Old Kingdom sources, in his PhD dissertation submitted to the Columbia University.¹⁴ It can be considered the first detailed examination of a single such word by itself in the Egyptological study. Goelet has offered a comprehensive and precise examination of every single term providing a full documentation of Old Kingdom texts referring to the palace. His study has been very useful for me to understand palace terminology in the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom, when the words were firstly used. My research aims to expand the horizontal timeline of this discussion to later periods of Egyptian history and to give added value to this, thanks to the comparison between textual evidence and archaeological knowledge. To the treatment of the evidence citation-by-citation chosen by Goelet, I have preferred to organize the sources in a separate catalogue.¹⁵ In this way quotations of the words may be used separately from the commentary as database for any future research. In order to facilitate the reading of the review and to avoid repetition, a system of cross-references will send the reader back to the catalogue and the original citation. The reference code consists of a combination of Roman numerals, alphabetical letters and numbers. Roman numerals are associated to the chronological periods discussed in the present study:

I - Middle Kingdom

II - New Kingdom

III - Late Period

Letters serve to distinguish the three broad categories in which the citations are divided:

A - Private Inscriptions

B - Official inscriptions

C - Literary texts

¹⁴ Goelet 1982. It must be mentioned even his article on the usage of the term *stp-s3* in Old Kingdom texts: Goelet 1986: 85 ff.

¹⁵ The catalogue is the first and most painful section of the work to have been realized, without which the comparison between the sources - on a horizontal level (sources of the same period) and on a vertical level (sources of different periods) - would not have been possible.

Numbers correspond to the progressive sequence of the cited evidences. So, for example, the code A.I.1 will identify the first source of the Middle Kingdom among the texts of official nature (royal inscriptions and administrative records).¹⁶

Titles and narrative expressions will be organized in separate synopsis for each of the five words for “palace”, where they are listed in alphabetical order and schematic representation, with summarizing aim. The purpose of such schemes is to show the reader the main ways in which a term was used and how frequently it was adopted in a specific manner in the different periods considered in the present study. The following abbreviations have been used for the chronological presentation:

E.M.K.– Early Middle Kingdom = 11-12th Dyn.

L.M.K. – Late Middle Kingdom = 13th Dyn.

E.N.K. – Early New Kingdom = 17-18th Dyn.

L.N.K. – Late New Kingdom = 19-20th Dyn.

E.L.P. – Early Late Period = 21th-22nd Dyn.

L.L.P. – Late Period = 25-26th Dyn.

Through these charts, the reader will be able to find a specific epithet or phrase he is interested to, being referred to the original source in the catalogue.

Despite the attempt to provide nearly all evidence of the use of a given term, this work does not pretend to be exhaustive, since it might have missed something for its real nature. The methodology used involved the counting of collections of ancient Egyptian texts, without any index that would facilitate the research. As for the Middle Kingdom, the New Kingdom and Late Period, there are no glossaries that enable to find the occurrences of palace-terms in texts. The most time-consuming work of such a lexicographical research consists in searching through a mass of previously published materials in order to find examples of each particular term. At the same time this methodology involves a series of possible and inevitable omissions. Despite some of the occurrences may have been skipped because of the huge quantity of consulted sources, the arduous task of a complete catalogue will be simpler in the future thanks to the initiation of the work. The collection of epithets has been made easier by the consultation of many publications on Middle

¹⁶ This system allows to extract those parts of the original document which in turn are useful for the comment, without mentioning it all over again.

Kingdom private titles - which have been consistently studied – and some others on Late Period military titles.¹⁷ Actually, there's not a comprehensive collection of private titles of the New Kingdom leaving out a recent publication of Al-Ayedi which only lists some of the most common New Kingdom titles and which I used as a starting point for research relating to this period,¹⁸ and the prosopography by Pierre-Marie Chevereau of New Kingdom military titles studied.¹⁹ Collecting Late Period sources has been facilitated by the use of Claus Jurman's MPhil thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham²⁰ focused on the problem of locating the royal residence in Late Period Egypt, which provides a rich bibliography on this phase of the Egyptian history.

As can be gathered from previous remarks, this study does not want to be a one-sided discussion, but rather aims to be a comparative research, both philological and archaeological, of the royal palace in ancient Egypt. The biggest obstacle in the attempt to combine these types of sources is that most of them come from contexts completely unrelated to those of archeologically known royal buildings. The almost complete lack of references to the palaces in sites where these buildings have been excavated can be explained as result of an archaeological coincidence. The building material of these structures has affected their preservation status: the mud-brick walls of palaces were decorated more easily with paintings than with stone reliefs, the use of stone being limited to columns, doorjambs and thresholds. The majority of the stone components has been reused or stripped away and few inscribed blocks have been preserved. Furthermore, the excavations of many of these structures have been not sufficiently documented, and reconstruction of architectural plans must be based on preliminary reports or old school publications. Apart from some administrative papyrus whose origin is known, most of the citations come from religious and funerary contexts and are unlikely to be linked with an identified structure. With rare exceptions, sources mostly refer to the palace in general, without specifying the location of the structures they are talking about. Official and narrative documents refer mainly to structures that have not been archaeologically recognized, like palaces at Itjtawy, Memphis, Karnak and Piramesse. These sources are useful to localize and know about buildings that have not yet been discovered, but do not allow comparisons with the results of the architectural analysis. Although private monuments provide additional information to what gathered from royal inscriptions and

¹⁷ To cite some examples: Martin 1971. Fischer 1985. Doxey 1998. Chevereau 1985. Chevereau 1991. Chevereau 1992.

¹⁸ Al-Ayedi 2006.

¹⁹ Chevereau 2001.

²⁰ Jurman 2006.

literary texts, they pose their own limit when they questioned with regard to the location of the “palace”, “residence” or “central administration” cited in the text.²¹ Despite documents relating to known palaces are very rare, the intention of this work is to identify a match between the functions identified by the architectural features of buildings and meanings suggested by the contexts of their citations.

Since it would have gone far beyond the aim of this research to include also the buildings belonging to governors, I have confined myself in analyzing only royal palaces. However, the architectural section of this study will comprehend some provincial monuments that may have belonged to local princes or governors and have been used temporarily by Pharaohs of various dynasties, in order to fill chronological gaps or add comparisons with proper royal palaces. Such a definition highlights the problem whether a “non-royal” palace may have existed in ancient Egypt.²² The problem in fixing the boundaries of a similar research coincides with the difficulty of defining what a royal palace is. The first difficulty lies in finding a modern terminology which may classify and represent the ancient one. Even if a perfect congruence is impossible to be found, we depend on the use of the modern dictionary and the modern concept of palatial entities if we aim to understand the function of ancient Egyptian royal palaces.²³ As in the current language there are several labels to categorize different aspects of the palatial institution – “palace”, “royal residence”, “administrative center” – similar shades of meaning may have been expressed by the five words for palace in Egyptian vocabulary. Both archeological and textual evidence suggest that ancient Egyptian royal palaces were multi-functional complexes or clusters of buildings of monumental size and all focused on the person of the king. Their functions spanned from residential to governmental, economic, defensive and ceremonial and were performed in specifically dedicated spaces inside the same structure. These different functions necessitated different architectural features, including living quarters for the king and his entourage, spaces for ritual performances - both religious ceremonies performed by the king and secular proceedings like the royal audience of foreign princes -,

²¹ Implicit geographical data can be assumed by the localization of the monument; the original placement of a votive statue may reflect the owner’s location of the office played by him, but this is not the only determining factor possible. The commission of a monument at a particular site could result from the personal devotion of the owner to a local deity and generally by ideological individual’s choice (Jurman 2006: 90, 103). Similar caution is to be taken when deducing information by personal names, given the problematic and the conservatism of ancient Egyptian onomastic (Vernus 1982: 328-330). Furthermore, a name does not determine where an individual spent his professional career (Grapow 1937: 44-53).

²² Among “non royal” palatial buildings could be listed the “palatial” structures in the fortresses attributed to the viceroys during the 18th and the 19th Dynasty.

²³ As Jurman has recently asserted in his work on Late Period kingship and residence, in Jurman 2006: 23.

administrative and economic facilities, bureaux and offices, reception and recreational spaces like gardens or animal enclosures. Although Egyptian literature has tried to give a concise definition of royal palace, every single structure would seem to have its own peculiarity. Some of these complexes were designed to serve as dwelling place for the king, the royal family and any other person of comparable power and administrative activity.²⁴ Others would lack actual living quarters for the king, or would have confined them in a small back section of the structure not really practical.²⁵ Adopting O'Connor's terminology²⁶ some of these buildings may have had a "ceremonial" function, having a main cultic section destined to the performance of ritual activities. Others would have a defensive nature, as suggested by their position on raised platforms.²⁷ It must be remembered the possible presence of sanctuaries, shrines or other religious spaces used by the Pharaoh and the royal family for the worship of deities. Despite the separation between civil and religious building was accepted and emphasized by the use of different building materials - the stone for the temples and tombs - and mud-bricks for daily-life structures, the distinction between secular and religious activities carried out in the royal palace reality is not so sharp. If the same structure could accommodate different sections with multiple uses, the words for "palace" may have not necessarily referred to different structures, but to different spaces of the same building. The ambiguity of the performed functions and the architectural differences hamper a decisive definition of the palace itself and a more precise translation of each term used to define it. The meaning of each word can vary according to the context, sometimes being related to a whole building or entity and at other times to a specific section of a wider structure. The identification of these differences in function and variations in meaning over time is instrumental to understand the real use of ancient Egyptian royal palaces.

²⁴ Jurman 2006: 16.

²⁵ As pointed out by Jurman it is perhaps a justifiable question whether a royal monument lacking residential spaces for the king might not be labelled as "palace". Jurman 2006: 8.

²⁶ O'Connor 1995: 270-274.

²⁷ Lacovara once refers to the northern platform at Deir el-Ballas as a "campaign palace" that would have served to host Theban Pharaohs during the expulsion of the Hyksos. Lacovara 1997: 13-15.

PART I. LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ROYAL PALACE

Chapter 1. Middle Kingdom textual sources**1.1 Introduction**

The political unification of Egypt after the First Intermediate Period came from the Theban provinces during the late 11th Dynasty (specifically under the reign of Mentuhotep II, 2008-1957 B.C.).¹ The administration of Egypt during this time is known from later 11th Dynasty inscriptions thanks to private tombs showing examples of ranking titles and positions of officials in relation to the king at Thebes.² During the 12th Dynasty the permanent royal residence and administration centre of Egypt was moved by Amenemhat I to Itjtawy, near modern Lisht.³ The precise time of his moving is not known and it is possible that the king spent some years at Thebes before transferring the capital to the new city. Although not much has been discovered about the new capital,⁴ its palace is known thanks to poetic descriptions found in the Instructions of Amenemhat⁵ and the Tale of Sinuhe.⁶ Another royal palace would have continued to exist at Thebes, near the temple of Karnak, and it is attested by written sources with certainty since the time of Sesostri I.⁷ The 13th Dynasty, which has been excluded by the Middle Kingdom by earlier scholars and has recently been reintegrated in this chronological classification, did not mean a shift in the location of the capital that continued to be positioned at Itjtawy.⁸ From the 13th Dynasty, we have an account book, known as Papyrus Boulaq 18, listing deliveries and expenses at the palace at Thebes during visits of the royal court to it; the Theban palace was probably situated on the western side of Thebes, near Dra Abu el-Naga, where the papyrus has been found.⁹ Also the

¹ Callender 2000: 149.

² Doxey 1998: 24.

³ Simpson 1963: 53 ff.

⁴ Around the pyramid of Amenemhat I were found settlement remains of the 13th Dynasty which may have been the suburbs of the town. Grajetzki 2006: 30.

⁵ Lichtheim 1973-1980, I: 35-138. Volten 1945: 104-128.

⁶ Lichtheim 1973-1980, I: 202-203. Gardiner 1916. Koch 1990. Parkinson 1997.

⁷ Kees 1958a: 195. Gitton 1974: 9. Hirsch 2009: 69 ff.

⁸ Callender 2000: 148-9.

⁹ Scharff 1922: 51 ff. Mariette 1871-1876.

city of Memphis should have been the site of a royal palace from the Old Kingdom towards the Late Period. While archaeological excavations have revealed only the palaces of the 19th and 26th Dynasty,¹⁰ texts speak about earliest structures. A reference to a Memphite Middle Kingdom *pr-nswt* for example is contained in the Instructions addressed to King Merikare (A.III.3), dated to the First Intermediate Period.¹¹ In addition to palaces located in the major Middle Kingdom administrative centers, other palatial complexes existed in important provinces of the Egyptian state. A palace dated to the 12th Dynasty has been found at Bubastis,¹² the cult centre of goddess Bastet, near modern Zagazig, and might have belonged to the governor of this important town. Fragments of doors, jambs and thresholds depicting royal figures and the titles of Amenemhat III on some of them indicate that the palace was temporarily used by the king on his visits to the temple of Bastet and as administrative centre of the eastern Delta.¹³ A monumental gate erected by Amenemhat I and renewed by Sesostri III from the northeast area of Kathana-Qantir may have belonged to a monumental building found in the near site of Ezbet-Rushdi, a small village about 1 km north-east of Tell el Dab-‘a.¹⁴ Like the structure at Tell-Basta (PL. I), it may have been used by a local governor and provisionally occupied by the kings of the 12th Dynasty. Another 13th Dynasty provincial royal mansion has recently been identified by the Austrian team in the southern area F/I of Tell el-Dab‘a (PL. IV).¹⁵ In order to allow a comparison between the philological study of written sources and the architectural analysis of archaeological finds, this work will focus mainly on 12th and 13th Dynasty documents with some exceptions from the 11th Dynasty, useful for comparisons and integrations to the main inscriptions.

The majority of the Middle Kingdom texts considered in the present study were inscribed on stelae and other objects dedicated in or near the most important temples of this period. During the course of the 12th and 13th Dynasty the range of people who dedicated stelae at some sanctuary became quite widespread. The highest number of Middle Kingdom stelae

¹⁰ For the palace of Merenptah see: O’Connor 1991: 167 ff. Fisher 1915: 63 ff. Fisher 1917: 211 ff. Fisher 1921: 30 ff. For the Palace of Apries at Memphis see: Kaiser 1987: 123 ff. Kemp 1977a: 101 ff. Kemp 1978a: 55-6. Petrie 1909.

¹¹ Lichtheim 1973-1980, I: 97.

¹² Kees 1958. Farid 1964. El-Sawi 1979a. El-Sawi 1979b. Habachi 1975. Habachi 1982. Bakr 1982. Van Siclen 1985. Van Siclen 1996: 239-243.

¹³ A lintel representing Amenemhat III who celebrates his *Sed*-festival points very much to a royal use of the building. Grajetzki 2006: 131.

¹⁴ Adam 1959. Habachi 1954. Szafránsky Zbigniew 1998. Forstner-Müller – Müller – Schweitzer – Weissl 2004.

¹⁵ Bietak 1984: 325-332, figs. 4-5. Eigner 1985; 1996. Bietak 1996: 21-30, fig. 18.

was found in the sanctuary of Osiris at Abydos, one of the most significant religious centers of the period.¹⁶ Other Middle Kingdom centers of cult that have provided written sources used in this study are the temple of Amun at Karnak¹⁷, that of Horus at Edfu,¹⁸ the sanctuary of Heqaib at Elephantine¹⁹ and the sanctuary of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai.²⁰ Private inscriptions were carved both on stelae and on the faces of natural cliffs at the sites of mining, quarrying and military expeditions and have been found in Sinai and Nubia, as well as in Egypt itself. Although the form and subject matter of these texts are similar in many ways to the funerary and votive inscriptions just discussed, their more inherently secular nature makes them very useful,²¹ the epithets in expedition-texts showing a stronger emphasis on the king than on the gods.²² Hatnub, at the east bank of the Nile, near el-Bersheh, was an important alabaster quarry during the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom;²³ ranking officials involved in quarrying expeditions have left here several biographical inscriptions of considerable historical interest. The tombs of a number of these men have also been identified at el-Bersheh.²⁴ Wadi Hammamat served both as a corridor for the Red Sea trade and as important quarry; inscriptions from here vary considerably in length and content and some of them give detailed accounts of the events of the expedition, providing titles and epithets of great importance for this study.²⁵ Men responsible for the Wadi el Hudi²⁶ inscriptions were officials of the central administration often holding positions associated with the treasury and the royal administration. Officials working in turquoise and copper mining expeditions in the Wadi

¹⁶ Simpson 1974: 1-16. O'Connor 1985: 161-177.

¹⁷ Barguet 1980: 341-2.

¹⁸ Alliot 1949-54.

¹⁹ Habachi 1985. Franke 1994.

²⁰ Gardiner – Peet – Černý 1952-55. The sanctuary at Serabit el-Khadim served as a centre for the worship of Hathor; most of the inscriptions from the site have been found on stelae dedicated by people taking part in the mining expeditions, so that the content of the stelae often differ from that of the texts from sanctuaries in Egypt itself.

²¹ Blumenthal 1977: 85-118. Eyre 1990: 143. Posener 1956: 131-4.

²² Doxey 1998: 18-9.

²³ Anthes 1928.

²⁴ Willems 1983-4: 80-102.

²⁵ Dated inscriptions recording Middle Kingdom expeditions in the wadi begin in the reign of Mentuhotep III in the 11th Dynasty and continue until the reign of Amenemhat III. The only texts dated to the 13th Dynasty belong to the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV. Couyat – Montet 1912. Goyon 1954. Simpson 1959: 20-37.

²⁶ Fakhry 1952. Sadek 1980. Amethyst quarries at Wadi el-Hudi were first exploited at the end of the 11th Dynasty under Montuhotep IV and were extensively worked in the 12th Dynasty. They were also quarried for at least a brief period in the 13th Dynasty, during the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV.

Maghara and Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai²⁷ left both rock inscriptions and stelae to commemorate their success. Other Middle Kingdom private inscriptions - both stelae and graffiti - have been found at several locations in Nubia, including Semna and Kumna.²⁸ Other kinds of rock graffiti are those found at Shatt er-Rigal²⁹ in Upper Egypt and in the island of Sehel near Elephantine.³⁰ Another major source of information, especially for the early 12th Dynasty, is the corpus of scarab seals, which in many cases provide only titles and names of officials because of their own nature and the limited space for the inscriptions on them.

As a general rule for Middle Kingdom sources, self-descriptive phrases and epithets were most commonly focused on the relationship of officials with the kings or the gods, rather than on administrative duties, so that they hardly provide complete information on the palatial structures' function.³¹

Information provided by stelae are bound by their limited space and changed overtime and by the type of the stele. Some people - especially lower officials - appear on monuments often with any title at all; at the same time there are proper biographical inscriptions and other officials have long title strings, being necessary a series of epithets to fully define the nature of a specific official. Narrative biographies³² of highly ranked officials have provided much of the known information regarding the relationship between the king and the nobility. Epithets referring to the officials dealing with the king might be expected to reflect the major institutions in the Middle Kingdom administration despite they are much less instructive than the autobiographies. Sometimes titles are not directly related to the owner; there are many stelae for examples that show familiars and servants of the inscription owner carrying their proper titles. The most serious difficulty in using information from votive monuments is their dating and the lack of recorded find spots: only a small number of stelae bears the name of the king and the original location of many monuments within the site are unknown, due to the circumstances of the early excavations.

²⁷ They are mainly from the reigns of Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV. Gardiner - Peet – Černý 1952-5.

²⁸ Rock inscriptions dated by royal cartouches all come from the reigns of Sesostri III and Amenemhat III. Dunham – Jansenn 1960-7.

²⁹ From here is a small group of inscriptions dating to the reign of Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep. Winlock 1947: pl. 39.

³⁰ Habachi 1951: 17-19. Habachi 1953: 50-59.

³¹ Doxey 1998: 30-1.

³² For a recent summary of the development of "autobiographies" see Gnirs 1996: 191-241.

Tomb inscriptions are a first class historical source, because of the wider space for placing titles and title-strings. However, the use of tomb inscriptions for the present study is limited by both lack of secure dates and bad state of preservation of Middle Kingdom cemeteries. Remains of private tombs at el-Lisht³³, the principal royal cemetery for the city of Itjtawy, at Saqqara and el-Lahun are fragmentary, because they have not been well investigated and they are often much destroyed.

The administrative documents from the Middle Kingdom are few and they can be mainly dated to the late part of the period. They include two remarkable papyri, the royal accounts recorded on the 13th Dynasty manuscript known as Papyrus Boulaq 18³⁴ and the rich administrative miscellany known as Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446.³⁵

References to the royal palace are contained also in several literary texts, which require a small introduction. In the actual Egyptological debate, the most important attribute that defines them is “fictional”, a term that differentiates royal and autobiographical texts with literary qualities from those works which, due to their fictional quality, correspond more closely to the modern concept of literature.³⁶ Stephen Quirke draws an important distinction between non-literary and literary³⁷ narrative texts, “narrative” being defined as “the account of an event and its consequence”.³⁸ This leads to a group of non-literary narratives, which includes legal texts, autobiographies,³⁹ royal inscriptions, liturgical texts not written for recitation in liturgy, and certain funerary texts. Useful inscriptions for the recognition of the royal palace in this study may be inserted in the definition of “narrative secular” including mainly stories and instructive texts generally labelled as “wisdom literature”.⁴⁰ Narrative texts were written by literary elite⁴¹ in an official context. The protagonist and the auditors of these compositions were members of the royal family and king’s entourage, even if reading aloud potentially widened their audience. Literature’s purpose seems to have been intellectual pleasure, but most of these compositions were

³³ For recent work at Lisht see Arnold 1992. For a summary of the main Middle Kingdom remains see Baines - Málek 1980: 133.

³⁴ Scharff 1922. Mariette 1871-1876.

³⁵ Hayes 1955.

³⁶ Parkinson 1997: 3. Loprieno 1996: 46.

³⁷ For a definition of “literature” see Loprieno 1996: 41-7.

³⁸ Quirke 1996.

³⁹ For similarities between “autobiography” and “fictional discourse” see Loprieno 1996: 46.

⁴⁰ From the present discussion are excluded narrative religious texts, including hymns to the gods, mythological and magical texts, and an extensive collection of mortuary texts.

⁴¹ Parkinson 1996: 140. Quirke 1996: 275.

also politically intended to formulate and establish the behaviour of the elite in official settings, therefore also in the palace.⁴²

Especially the didactic literature in the form of instructive speech of a father to his son, or admonishing and prophetic speech, specifies the manner in which an official should act within his office.⁴³ Official duties are treated more from a moral and ethical viewpoint than from a practical one, and these texts rarely refer to the activities concretely carried out in the royal buildings. Despite this limit, by the description of the proper conduct of the officers in the palace, instructions and admonitions may offer some useful information on royal palace practices.

As explained in the introduction, in the present chapter and the following ones I will comment on the collected sources on the basis of their nature, distinguishing between narrative texts – both official and private – and titles or epithets. The first type of sources is more instructive than the latter, the words for “palace” being inserted in a narrative context, formed by verbal and prepositional compounds; the second one, due to its own nature, consists of shorter expressions, sometimes merely referring to the position held by the official in the palace, but useful to integrate the other sources.

1.2 The term ‘h in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

Very few explicit statements about the role of the Pharaoh in the palace have survived from the Middle Kingdom. Official monumental inscriptions on stelae or buildings rarely refer to the activities performed by Pharaoh in the palace and are most commonly connected with his role in the temple, because of the narrowness of preserved archeological documentation from the palatial sphere, and because the majority of the commemorative inscriptions served to celebrate the ritual activities of the king rather than his secular functions. The inscriptions dealing with chief topics of royal activities such as mining expeditions, building of temples, and military actions are an exception and are the most informative of all.⁴⁴ However, it is the 13th Dynasty Papyrus Boulaq 18 that provides the most revealing evidence concerning the palace complex itself, indicating the inner divisions

⁴² Posener 1976: 1-20.

⁴³ Lichtheim 1996: 245

⁴⁴ Lichtheim 1973-1980, I: 113.

of this complex, the role of palace employees, daily incomes and outcomes. Another important source of information on the bureaucracy of the Middle Kingdom State is Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, acquired by Charles Wilbour in the last century; no provenance is recorded for this document, but its contents concern Thebes and the area administered by the city.⁴⁵

The Wadi Hammamat rock stele executed by vizier Amenemhat on behalf of Mentuhotep IV, the last king of the 11th Dynasty (A.I.1), refers to god Min and Horus, the latter often identified with the first, Lord of Coptus and protector of expeditions in the eastern desert. The expression *‘h ntr dī ‘nh* “god’s *‘h* endowed with life” recalls various private inscriptions and hymns, in which deities are mentioned in connection with the palace within the enumerations of their powers and attributes. The genitival relation between the deity and the building suggests the religious nature of word *‘h*. The existence of a *‘h* another from the proper secular palace is suggested by the occasional necessity to specify the royal ownership of the *‘h* itself (see expression *‘h nswt* in A.I.10). The expression seems to reflect an ancient form of the *‘h* known in the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom when the sign *ntr* could be written inside the basic *‘h*-sign as well as other hieroglyphs such as *hḏ* or *hṯp*. Such additional signs reflect different forms of the *‘h*, most Old Kingdom sources depicting the *‘h-ntr* in contexts that suggest that this form of *‘h* was primarily a changing area or a resting place for the king during certain ceremonies.⁴⁶

The so called Building Inscriptions of Sesostris I (A.I.5), survived in a hieratic copy on a leather roll made by a 18th Dynasty scribe (Papyrus Berlin 3029),⁴⁷ should be almost certainly carved on a stele or a wall of the temple of Atum at Heliopolis.⁴⁸ The composition treats the foundation of the temple and the intention of the king to build his residence in its neighborhood. In this text Ra-Harakte is the one who have established the king in the *‘h*:

<i>I. 11) imt.n.f wī r imy ‘h m wḏh nn prt.ī m 3ḥty rdī.[n.f n.ī] 3w.f wsh.f</i>	He [Ra-Harakte] fashioned me as a dweller of the <i>‘h</i> as a baby, before I came forth from the thighs. To me was given its length and its breadth
--	---

⁴⁵ Hayes 1955: 16-17.

⁴⁶ Goelet 1982: 400.

⁴⁷ De Buck 1938: 48-57. Osing 1992b: 101 ff. Derchain 1992: 43.

⁴⁸ Lichtheim 1973-1980, I: 115.

Between remains of the 12th and the 13th Dynasty found at Tell el-Dab'a, near Khatana,⁴⁹ a bead in green faience in the valuable collection of the king Farouk bears two columns of inscriptions engraved opposite each other (A.I.12):

nswt-b'ity Sbk-k3-R' 'nh dt Sbk Šdyt Hr hry-ib Šdyt King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Sbk-k3-R'*, living
nb T3-š hry-ib 'h mrwt forever, beloved of Sobek the Faiyumite, the
 Horus who is in the Faiyum, master of the lake-land pleasing the 'h, beloved⁵⁰

This document refers to a 'h-palace, property of a Middle Kingdom provincial king residing in the Faiyum. The expression *Hr hry-ib 'h* recalls many private inscriptions adopting the same formula.⁵¹ The inscription on the naos JE 47276 of Sesostri I from Karnak (A.I.6) where Horus is linked to *pr-3* (*Hr hnty pr-3*, "Horus who resides in the *pr-3*") constitutes an exception in comparison with more common expressions in official and private inscriptions using word 'h in relation to Horus as personification of the living king.⁵²

Expression compound with <i>ntr/Hr + 'h</i>				
<i>'h ntr dī 'nh</i>	god's 'h/god of the 'h endowed with life (..)	Mentuhotep IV	Hammat	A.I.1
<i>Hr hry-ib nb-Šdyt nb T3-š hry-ib 'h mrwt</i>	Horus pleasing to the Faiyum, master of the lake-land pleasing the 'h	Queen <i>Sbk-k3-R'</i>	Ex cFarouk	A.I.12
<i>h'ī hm.f hr st Hr m 'h</i>	His Majesty appears in glory on the seat of Horus in the 'h	Nerehotep I	JE 6307	A.I.13
<i>Hr hnty pr-3</i>	Horus who resides in the <i>pr-3</i>	Sesostri I	JE 47276	A.I.6

The 'h is mentioned once in the context of *inw*-delivery described in Sesostri III's inscription from Medamud (A.I.10). *inw* was a source of income for the king and it was intended for his personal consumption.⁵³ Several commodities were sent to the palace itself, differently named depending on the inscription; the secular nature of the building where the *inw* must be delivered is confirmed by the apposition of *nswt* to the word 'h (*'h nswt*). The association of the *inw* with the 'h is implicitly recognizable in later inscriptions

⁴⁹ Naville 1891: 9, 14, 36, pls. 26c, 33 b-f, 34c.

⁵⁰ Habachi 1987: 61-62.

⁵¹ See paragraph below: § 1.3.

⁵² Gundlach 2009: 60.

⁵³ The term is generally translated as "offering", "tribute", "gift" and "product" (Wb I: 91, 12-18). For a more detailed analysis of the word see Bleiberg 1984: 155 ff. The term *inw* has recently been discussed by Liverani, in Liverani 1990: 240-266.

such as that in the 19th Dynasty tomb of *P3-sr, smr tp n 'h*, “companion at the head of the ‘h” with responsibility for receiving *inw* of the northern and southern foreign countries.⁵⁴ In Middle Kingdom private inscriptions, titles and expression can refer to the owner as responsible of *inw* to be brought to the ‘h, also in specific occasions like the celebration of some festivity (A.II.151). In the Theban tomb no. 65, the ‘h is presented as recipient of metal-delivery by the owner ‘h3ty; here the concept of delivery is not expressed by the noun *inw*, but rather from verb *ini*, with the same root of the noun.

<i>inw + 'h</i>				
<i>inw.sn i'b (r) 'h nswt bity</i>	Their (Asiatic countries') <i>inw</i> being unite for the 'h of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt	Medamud 26	Sesostris III	A.I.10
<i>s Hb-sd inw.f 'h</i>	One whose offerings make the 'h fest	MFA 29.1130	<i>Mntw-m-h3t</i> (M.K.)	A.II.151
<i>ii.n(.i) m htp r 'h.f ini.n.f tpy h3swt m bi3 n B3wt bi3 psdt 'lhw bi3 rwd Mn- k3w</i>	I returned in peace to his 'h. I brought to him the best of the foreign lands in new metal of B3wt, shining metal of 'lhw, hard metal of Mn-k3w	TT 65 (13 th Dyn. (?))	'h3ty	A.II.135

A main source for the philological study of the Middle Kingdom royal palaces is a monumental red granite portal found at Ezbet Helmi, Tell el Dab'a (A.I.11).⁵⁵ The inscription on the stone records that Sesostris III renewed a monument of Amenemhat I.⁵⁶ The importance of this monument derives by its provenance from an archeological site not so far from Ezbet Rushdi el-Saghira, a village 1 km away from Tell el-Dab'a, where a probable palace of the 12th Dynasty has been unearthed (PL. III).⁵⁷ The attribution of the inscription to the palace is uncertain. It may have come from another building at Qantir, which has not been fully excavated but was composed by a brick wall, three meters thick, led off from

⁵⁴ KRI III: 9, 5 ff.

⁵⁵ Habachi 1954: 448-458, pl. II-IV.

⁵⁶ “He (Sesostris I) made as his monument erecting a doorway to the d3d3wy of Amenemhe(t) by renewing what was made by his father the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibre, he made for him (the ceremony) of giving life”. Habachi 1954: 451.

⁵⁷ Adam 1959: 207-226. Forstner-Müller – Müller – Schweitzer - Weissl 2004, 104. Bietak - Dorner – Černý - Bagh 1998: 15, fig. 4.

either side of a doorway.⁵⁸ Limestone blocks were found in the vicinity of the portal, one of them showing Amenemhat I in a foundation ceremony together with a statue of the king.⁵⁹

The portal, *sb3*, was part of a building called *d3d3w[y] 'h 'lmn-m-ḥ3t*:⁶⁰



Both architectural finds and inscriptions on them may suggest that the *d3d3w[y]* was a temple or a shrine,⁶¹ but the 'h-sign and the absence of the name of a deity on the doorway, would tend to support Habachi's interpretation of the building as secular rather than as a religious one. This type of architectural structure has not yet been archaeologically identified. Its belonging to the palace can be supposed, whereas the 'h that follows it is not considered as determinative, but as substantive to indicate a specific royal building.⁶² The *d3d3w[y]* expression, which could be intended as variation of the word *d3dw*, is often attested in the Middle Kingdom epigraphy in relation with the sacral sphere of the temple.⁶³ Beside this cases, Middle Kingdom material gives information on a palatial *d3d3w[y]*: 'h follows this word in the private title *iry-'t n d3d3wy n 'h Sth*⁶⁴, "keeper of the chamber in the *d3d3wy* in the 'h, *Sth*" attested on Seal 1663 – BM 30541 (A.II.140).⁶⁵

Other Middle Kingdom officials bore the title *iry-'t n d3dw* without the adding of 'h.⁶⁶ The connection of the *d3d3w[y]/d3dw* with royal buildings is known since the Old Kingdom,⁶⁷ when it is said to be part of a palace or royal residence called the *H'y-wrrt-S3ḥwr'* on a false door from Saqqara.⁶⁸

⁵⁸ On the basis of archeological excavations, Dorner has recently excluded the possibility of existing of a free-standing stone construction in geological environment of Ezbet Helmi and hypotesized that optimal condition for settlement concentration were most probably in Ezbet Rushdi el-Saghira area and in the area between Ezbet Helmi and Khatana, in Szafránski 1998 citing Bietak 1991: 19, 21.

⁵⁹ Habachi 1954: 452-3, pl. 5.

⁶⁰ Habachi 1954: 451.

⁶¹ Spencer 1984: 131. Barguet 1962: 310-302.

⁶² Szafránski 1998: 103. According to Spencer, the *d3dw* must be intended instead as a determinative for "palace", in Spencer 1984: 131.

⁶³ Spencer 1984: 130.

⁶⁴ Martin 1971: 127 (n. 1663), pl. 38.3.

⁶⁵ Quirke 1986: 127 no. 1663, pl. 38.3.

⁶⁶ A group of *iry-'t* official were on duty in the *d3d3wy*. The title *n k3 n iry-'t n d3d3w 'lppi* is attested on a Vienna Stele from Abydos, dated to the 13th Dynasty (ÄS 143, cols. 19-20, in Hein - Satzinger 1989: 68-74). The inscription *iry-'t n d3d3wy Štwy* is preserved on a 13th Dynasty scarab in the Ashmolean Museum, from Jericho (Tell el-Sultân, tomb G 37, in Martin 1971: 42 n. 475, pl. 5.20).

⁶⁷ Szafránski 1998: 103.

⁶⁸ *d3d3wy nywy H'y-wrrt-S3ḥwr'*, "the *d3d3wy* which belongs to the *H'y-wrrt-S3ḥwr'*, Sethe 1933: 38 (3-4).

Ezbet Helmi inscription does not allow a reconstruction of the function of this particular structure of the palace. Useful information can be found in the aforementioned Building Inscription of Sesostri I (pBerlin 3029 - A.I.5),⁶⁹ in which an official session (*hmst*) taking place in the *d3dw* is described:⁷⁰

h't nswt m shmty hpr
hmst m d3dw nd r3 imyw-h.t.f

smrw nw spt-s3 'nh wd3 snb
srw r st w''w

Appearance of the king with the double crown, a sitting took place in the *d3dw*. One took counsel with his suite,
the companions of the *spt-s3*, i. p. h.,
the official of the private chambers.⁷¹

According to this inscription, Sesostri I made his appearance in the *d3dw*, ordering his officials an assembly in this place to announce his intention to build a temple in Heliopolis. The *d3dw* is described as a room/hall of audience inside the palatial building. The counsel organized by the king is composed by *smrw nw spt-s3*, “companions of the *spt-s3*”, but the place where the king appeared and the session (*hmst*) took place is not specified. The appearance of the king such as that described in Sesostri I’s inscription by the verb *h'i*, “to appear in glory”, is often combined with word *'h* (see for example JE 6307 and private inscription UC 14333). The appearance of the Majesty (*hm*) or the king (*nswt*) in the *'h* may have occurred in common and repeated occasions or in occasional and specific ceremonies involving the king (king’s crowning for example is described in BM 146 [574] - A.II.45)⁷². It seems likely that the *d3d3wy/d3dw* was the specific place of the *'h* meant for the appearance of the king and that it could be used as well to mean the group of people that reunited there. If the interpretation of the *d3d3wy* as an “audience hall”⁷³ is accepted, the meaning of the ‘Ezbet Helmi fragment is as follows: “the doorway, which belongs to the audience hall of the palace of Amenemhat”.⁷⁴

Some connection of this monument with the 12th Dynasty palace discovered at Ezbet Rushdi el-Saghira might be supposed (PL. III).⁷⁵

⁶⁹ De Buck 1938: 49 (Col. I, 1-2), 52.

⁷⁰ *d3dw* is the new form for *d3d3wy* attested from the New Kingdom onwards. Sesostri I’s Building Inscription represents an exception to the trend of Middle Kingdom sources where the term appears with the dual form ending-*wy*. Wb V: 527. FCD: 319. GEG: 603.

⁷¹ De Buck 1938: 48-57. Parkinson 1991: 40-43, 155.

⁷² In later sources the appearance in glory of the king is connected with the specific ceremony of the *Sd*-festival. See chapter 3, part II.

⁷³ For the translation of the term *d3d3wy/d3dw* as an “audience hall” in a specific place see Berlev 1968: 245.

⁷⁴ Szafranski 1998: 104.

⁷⁵ Bietak 1991: 64.

The most famous literary text that describes the experience of a royal audience in the palace is the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5). In the passage of the composition where Sinuhe eulogises Sesostri I in front of the foreign prince 'Imn-nšī, he reports king's staying in the 'h after having taken the heritage of his father, Amenemhat:

B 46-47) dd.kwī n.f wšb.ī n.f nhmn s3.f 'k r 'h Then I spoke to him and I replied to him: indeed
īt.n.f iw't nt it.f his son has entered into the 'h, he has taken the
 heritage of his father

B 50) ntd d3r(w) h3swt iw itf m.f m hnw 'h.f He is one suppressing the foreign lands, while his
 father stayed with him in his 'h

The term 'h is mentioned in Section D describing Sinuhe's stay in Retjenu. While he is describing his present condition, he realizes how much he is missing the Egyptian residence. He states that the 'h still remembers him, probably reminding his position in the royal palace and finally realizes how desperately he wants to go back to the Egyptian *hnw* for burial.

B 155) nfr pr.i wsh st.i sh3wy.i im 'h My estate is fine, my place is broad, memory of
 me is in the 'h

B 156-7) ntr nb š3(w) w'rt tn htp.k di.k wi r hnw Whatever god fated this flight, be gracious and
 bring me back to the *hnw*

After the moment of self-realization, Sinuhe expresses his wishes to be in Egypt more clearly. He asks for king's grace hoping to work again in the 'h for the queen and the royal children.

B 165) htp n.i nswt n Kmt 'nh.i m htp.f nd.i hrt May the king of Egypt be content with me, may I
hnwt ntt m 'h.f sdm.i wptw nt hrdw.s live in his pleasure, greeting the mistress who is
 in his 'h and hear her children's messages

As soon as he has expressed his desire, the king answers it and the royal children send the desired messages from the royal 'h. A royal letter is sent to Sinuhe to bring him home and is inserted in the tale. The king ensures Sinuhe that his position is still in favor and reassures his role in the original '*hnwty* together with royal children in the 'h.

B 176-77) wn in hm.f h3b.f n.i hr 3wt nt hrwt And His Majesty sent to me, with bounty of royal
s3wi.f ib n b3k im mi h3st nbt nswt nt nswt giving, to gladden the hearth of his humble
msw m 'h.f hr rdit sdm.i wptw.sn servant, like any ruler of a country, and the
 king's children who were in his 'h let me hear
 their business

The term *‘h* appears several times in meaningful passages of the Tale of Sinuhe, despite its interpretation as an autobiography or a fictionalizing tale is yet an open debate.⁷⁶ The poem is concerned like an autobiography with narration of achievements which gave it the features of a tale of adventure in foreign lands. Despite its fictional and ideological aspect, this composition offers a self-conscious presentation of Egyptian culture.⁷⁷ In replying to the royal decree allowing his return to Egypt, Sinuhe presents himself using a title that reasserts his connection with the royal palace: *b3k n ‘h*, “servant of the palace”. It does not refer to any specific function held by Sinuhe in the *‘h*, being just an epistolary formula that expresses his loyalty to the palace and the king.

The final stanzas of the poem lead the reader swiftly to the entrance of Sinuhe in the inner part of the el-Lisht *‘h*-palace through a series of courtly dwellings.

B 248) *ḥd(-t3).n rf dw3t iw i3š.n.i s 10 m iwt s 10*
 B 249) *m šm(t) ḥr st3.i r ‘h dhn.n.i t3 im(y)t(w)*
ššpw

When it was dawn, very early in the morning they came and called me, ten men coming, ten men going to lead me to the *‘h*. I touched the ground between the sphinxes

B 250) *msw-nswt ‘h’(w) m wmt ḥr irt ḥsfw.i smrw*
st3w r w3ḥ ḥr rdit.i ḥr w3t ‘hnwty

as the royal children stood in the portal, receiving me; and the friends who usher to the Pillared Hall put me on the way to the *‘hnwty*

B 252) *gm.n.i ḥm.f ḥr st wrt m wmt nt d’m*
wn.k(wi) rf

I found His Majesty on the great throne in the portal of electrum.

B 253) *dwn.kwi ḥr ht.i ḥm.n.(i) wi m b3ḥ.f*

Then I was stretched out prostrate, unconscious of myself in his presence

At the great portal (*wmnt*),⁷⁸ flanked by two sphinxes (*ššpw*),⁷⁹ he is introduced to the palace; here the royal children greet him. After the first entrance he crosses the audience device, passing at first through a court (*w3ḥ*) and then entering the audience hall (*w3t ‘hnwty*) in which the king is seated on a throne (*st wrt*) placed beneath a kiosk (*wmt nt d’m*).⁸⁰ Here, terrified in front of the king, Sinuhe collapses. Sinuhe takes place in a

⁷⁶ In the recent Egyptological debate concerning the prose narrative of the Tale of Sinuhe much ink has been spilled arguing over the literary versus historical methods of the account: Foster 1993, Parkinson 1997, Simpson 2003. Another current treatment (Barta 2003) joins with most others by characterizing Sinuhe as “fiction”, though extremely accurate in its background and description. Completely in favor of the inclusion of this story in the genre of private biography is Kitchen (Kitchen 1996).

⁷⁷ Parkinson 1997.

⁷⁸ Spencer 1984: 186-90.

⁷⁹ For the interpretation of the sphinxes at the entrance of the palace see Gardiner 1916: 94 f.

⁸⁰ According to Spencer the *wmt nt d’m* might refer to the side-walls or panel that surrounded the throne which stood on an elevated base, see Spencer 1984: 188.

permanent residence. The rank of governor is bestowed on him and he is refurnished of foods and other facilities coming directly from the 'h.

The description of the audience system matches its real plan as recognized in archeologically known palaces. Where it is preserved, it seems to respond to a specific architectural tripartite shape with the succession of two hypostyle rooms and a throne room at the end, smaller, roughly square and columned. Observing the gradual development of this device, not yet fully standardized in the Middle Kingdom, it develops in the axial shape of New Kingdom palaces, where the three succeeding doors of the two hypostyle halls and the throne room at the bottom are perfectly aligned each other.⁸¹

⁸¹ In the North Palace of the 17th Dynasty at Deir el-Ballas the reconstruction of the superstructure can be hypothesized by observing the layout of the casemate walls that have been preserved in the north-western sector of the building. This would have been composed by a latitudinal hall, a large central room, both probably with columns, and a rear larger space, rebuilt by Lacovara as a possible throne room, surrounded by several smaller rooms (Lacovara 1981: 121, fig. 2). Regarding the Thutmosid complex of Tell el-Dab'a (PL.VI), the layout of the superstructures of platform F, G and J can be reconstructed by the shape of their foundation-cells. In the central sector of platform F a longitudinal rectangular hall is perpendicular to a second square room, behind which is located a smaller rectangular space that we can hypothetically recognize as the throne room (Janosi 1996: 96-97). In platform G of the same site a monumental portico, which replaces the more common latitudinal hypostyle hall, precedes a transversal vestibule and a quadrangular throne room shifted to the south-east corner of the latter room and therefore accessible through a door not aligned with passage from the portico to the vestibule (Bietak - Forstner-Müller 2005: 86). An elaboration of this device can be observed also in complex J at Tell el-Dab'a, where the first latitudinal hall is replaced by a monumental peristyle courtyard, followed by a cross-hall; the throne room at the bottom is different from that of the building G for its rectangular shape and the arrangement perfectly axial with previous rooms (Bietak - Dorner - Janosi 2001: 89-96). Regarding the North Palace at Amarna, the recognition of the audience system has been facilitated by finding in the farthest raised room a platform leant against the bottom wall which was visible between two central columns. The area so identified is composed by a perfectly symmetrical sequence of a square hypostyle hall, a second colonnade hall with latitudinal development and a roughly square room at the bottom (Whittemore 1926: 6). A similar organization of space had already been tested in Malkata by Amenhotep III in the King's Palace of the site. Here the tripartite device with the latitudinal vestibule, the longitudinal courtyard and the square throne room at the bottom is complicated by the addition of lateral complexes - initially interpreted as residences of the royal harim and recently reconsidered in their ceremonial use - which necessarily require lengthening the hypostyle hall in the middle. The tripartite organization of audience system is reproduced in palaces of the Ramessid Period attached to the funerary complexes of western Thebes and in the Palace of Merenptah at Memphis. The model just described is exemplified in the first phase of construction of the temple-palace at Medinet Habu, and in previous buildings like the Ramesseum of Rameses II and the Temple of Sety I at Qurna. In the palaces of Ay and Horemheb, which are missing the first hypostyle, it is possible to recognize only the transversal colonnade hall and the next square throne room (Hölscher 1939: 81-82). In the palace of Merenptah at Qurna the model of Ramesseum is reflected in a very simplified and reduced shape, and the first hypostyle is replaced by a portico with eight columns behind which there are two perfectly axial and identical shaping rooms with four square columns, the last one used as a throne room (Jaritz 1996: 112). In the complex of Rameses III at Medinet Habu, the first hypostyle room is replaced by the portico in the front of the southern side of the building on the courtyard entrance to the funerary temple. The second hypostyle was not directly accessible from the portico through a central door: this opening in fact was not really practicable since it was occupied by the Window of Appearance (Hölscher 1929: 40). The side doors that gave access to the small rooms next to the courtyard allowed an entrance on the eastern and western sides of the

Although nothing of the palace at el-Lisht is known, a Middle Kingdom palace which might be taken as example of the palatial architecture of this period is the palace at Tell-Basta.⁸² Gnirs has recently suggested a hypothetical reconstruction of the “way to the *‘hnwty’*” described in the Tale of Sinuhe applying it to the original Van Siclen’s plan of the structure (Fig. 1).⁸³

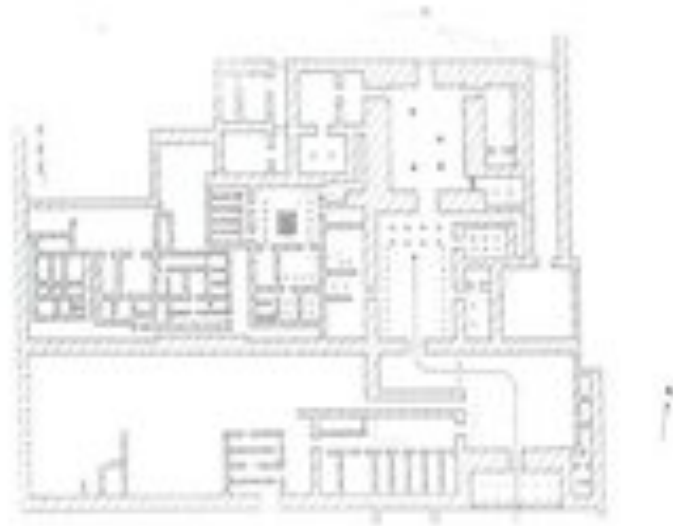


Figure 1. Middle Kingdom palace at Tell Basta with Gnirs’s hypothetical reconstruction of the ‘way to the inner palace’. (Gnirs 2009: 16, fig. 1.)

The palace at Tell Basta (PL. I) has a rectangular columned hall, which might be intended as the equivalent of the throne room of the New Kingdom royal palaces. This hall is entered from a larger columned space that can be equated with the central hall of later palaces. Instead of the axial vestibule of the New Kingdom royal buildings, at Tell Basta there was a

courtyard itself. An entry in line with the window at the bottom of this hypostyle led to the throne room, a square room with four columns, where the king sat on a throne placed on the platform leant against the rear wall, accessible through frontal steps. In spite of the inner circulation system not being perfectly axial as in other buildings in the New Kingdom, forcing a 90° bend before reaching the throne, the succession of the rooms seem to respond to the planimetrical model of the New Kingdom royal palaces. A final break of the axial system can be noted in the second phase of construction of the building, where the entrance hall is transformed into a small transverse vestibule leading directly to the throne room, which is now simply a large room with two rows of three columns (Hölscher 1941: 44). The Palace of Merenptah at Memphis is characterized by the juxtaposition of three sectors: a peristyle court, a transversal hypostyle hall and the throne room with an elongated platform at the bottom; the only addition to this core is that of a back room with two columns shifted slightly to the north-west corner around which the royal apartments were located (Fisher 1915: 225. O’ Connor 1991: 177).

⁸² Van Siclen 1996: 239, fig. 1.

⁸³ Gnirs 2009: 16, fig. 1.

long off-axis entrance composed of three different halls.⁸⁴ The last throne hall, often with a raised floor above that of the previous hypostyle hall was characterized by a platform leant against the bottom wall, accessible through frontal steps.⁸⁵ On this platform were set the throne and probably a removable structure, such as a kiosk or a canopy described in the Tale of Sinuhe. The passage of this composition describes the crossing of the last two rooms of the palace, the hypostyle court and the throne room of the '*h*'.⁸⁶ Such description, although not accurate, corresponds with archaeological finds. Accepting the likelihood of this passage, it would be interesting to understand why the editor of the tale knew so well the inner part of the palace. The name and identity of the owner of the Berlin papyri has simply not survived, but his position in the state bureaucracy was high enough for him to build a tomb on the west bank of the Nile.⁸⁷

The just described '*hnwty*'⁸⁸ is mentioned more than once in the text, in connection with the members of the royal family (specifically *msw.s*, mistress' children) and the officials of the palace:

B 280) <i>iw.f r smr m'</i>	He will be a friend among the officials,
B 281) <i>srw rdit .f m k3b šnyt</i>	he will be placed in the midst of the court,
B 282) <i>wḏ3.tn r 'hnwty dw3t r irt</i>	proceed to the robing ' <i>hnwty</i> to attend to him

The word '*hnwty*' is extremely common in Middle Kingdom texts and is frequently used in private titles. Bearers of the titles are mainly high officials working in some department or office probably attached to the royal building. An explicit grammatical relation between the word '*hnwty*' and one of the terms for "palace" is very rare. Some of the inscription owners carrying the title *imy-r 'hnwty*, were somehow attached to the *pr-nswt* such as '*Intf*' (BM

⁸⁴ The central area of the Middle Kingdom Palace of Tell Basta is characterized by a sequence of two rectangular courtyards, the first of which is a peristyle court with two rows of columns in front of the short northern side, and the second is a hypostyle hall with six columns, both longitudinally oriented in a north-south direction. In this articulation of space the throne room at the bottom is not recognizable and could be placed in some of the side rooms next to the second hypostyle, or in the north of the building that has not been investigated. Van Siclen 1996: 239-243.

⁸⁵ Throne bases have been found *in situ* in some audience hall of the New Kingdom royal palaces (Bietak 2005: 131-68) such as in the North Palace at Amarna (Whittemore 1926: 26) and in the temple palace within the Ramesseum (Jaritz 1996: 112). For a detailed study of the iconography and the symbolism of the royal throne see Kuhlmann 1977.

⁸⁶ The description refers to the sentence before in which Sinuhe is said to be led to the '*h*'.

⁸⁷ The only information we have on the finding of papyri is in the sale catalogue of the man who found them, Giovanni D'Athanas, who speaks 'a tomb at Thebes'. Parkinson 2001.

⁸⁸ Wb I: 226, 16. According to Gardiner's analysis of the origin of the word, '*hnwty*' is probably a compound consisting of the word '*h*', "region", "part" and the adjective *hnwty* connected with word *hnw*, "interior", in Gardiner 1947: 44.

572 - A.II.40) or *Rmny-ḥ* (CG 20571 - A.II.101).⁸⁹ The title registered in the later Onomasticon of *Imn-m-ḥpt* (B.I.91) *imy-r ḥnwty n pr-nswt* is considered by Gardiner a unique example explicitly referring to the *pr-nswt* -royal palace.⁹⁰ In the Tale of Sinuhe, the *ḥnwty* and specifically the *w3t ḥnwty* is quoted as part of the *ḥ* where courtiers were received and as private area of the palace to where Sinuhe is ushered during his royal audience. In his Notes on the Tale of Sinuhe, Gardiner has rendered the term as “Privy Chamber”.⁹¹ The same rendering of the term is suggested by the evidence of Papyrus Boulaq 18 (A.I.17), where a pair of officials with the title *imy-r ḥnwty n k3p* are described as responsible for the interior arrangements of the private rooms of the palace and for deliveries and execution of orders concerning supplies for the residents in the private rooms of the building, the term *k3p* being referred to the “inner palace”.⁹² However, the frequent connection of the title *imy-r ḥnwty*⁹³ with departments such as the *pr-ḥd* or with the *pr-nswt* seems to imply more participation in administrative business. The Middle Kingdom titles *imy-r ḥnwty wr n imy-r ḥtmt*, “chief interior-overseer to the treasurer” or *imy-r ḥnwty n imy-r ḥtmt*, “interior-overseer to the treasurer” imply that at least sometimes the department under the treasurer employed several *imy-r ḥnwty*.⁹⁴ Among the Middle Kingdom epithets referring directly to the treasury (*pr-ḥd*), the *imy-r ḥnwty (wr) n pr-ḥd*, “(great) interior overseer to the treasury”, denotes that officials working for the treasury might be entitled *imy-r ḥnwty*.⁹⁵ Officials despatched outside the Nile Valley with expeditions to the sources of materials and to lead construction works often carried the title *imy-r ḥnwty* as base of epithets such as *imy-r ḥnwty ḥrp k3(w)t*, “interior-overseer director of the works”.⁹⁶ *Ht-sty-wrt*’s title *imy-r ḥnwty n pr ḥtmw*, “the overseer of the *ḥnwty* of the office of the house of the sealer” in stele Louvre C 5 (A.II.69) suggests an administrative function for the *ḥnwty* section.⁹⁷ Middle Kingdom holders of *imy-r ḥnwty* titles seem to have worked as king’s inspectors with the duty of supervising various departments, an expeditions to the mines or quarries or a cattle count.

Quirke is the first to have observed the change in the functioning of the title *imy-r ḥnwty* towards the end of the 12th Dynasty, when the function of the title owner is most clearly

⁸⁹ Gardiner 1947: 45.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*: 45.

⁹¹ Gardiner 1916: 67.

⁹² Quirke 2004: 27.

⁹³ For an overview of the available examples of the title see Gauthier 1918: 169 ff.

⁹⁴ Quirke 2004: 55.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*: 57.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*: 79.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*: 86.

specified and assigned to specific departments of administration.⁹⁸ Up to that time the title stood alone without any qualifying assignments. Balanda has recently highlighted the relatively short period of this title's importance within the Egyptian bureaucracy: the change of the nature of the title *imy-r 'hnty* would have undergone specifically during the reign of Sesostri III, the "reforming king", when the holders of the title start to be permanently attached to specific sectors of the administration: *pr-hd*, *sd3t (htmt)*, *k3p*.⁹⁹ According to the same author, the title virtually disappears from the end of the Middle Kingdom, apart from very sporadic occurrences in the New Kingdom.¹⁰⁰

Going back to the Tale of Sinuhe, in some passages of the text the term *'h* is used in connection with word *hnw*, the latter here being used with its meaning of "interior, inside".¹⁰¹ This grammatical relation links these two terms in the aforementioned eulogy of Sesostri I in the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5) in which the king's father (Amenemhat) is said to stay in the *hnw 'h*:

<i>B 50) ntd d3r(w) h3swt iw it.f m.f m hnw 'h.f</i>	He is one suppressing the foreign lands, while his father stayed with him in his <i>'h</i>
--	--

In a passage of the Papyrus Westcar (A.II.6) the *hnw 'h* is used in relation to the beautiful women of the *'h*:

<i>5,1-2) (..) 'pr n.k b3w m nfrwt nbwt n hnw 'h.k</i>	Fill a boat with all the beauties from inside your <i>'h</i>
--	--

1.3 The term *'h* in titles and epithets

Crucial sources for the study of the term "palace" are non-royal monumental inscriptions composed by a series of epithets describing in laudatory tone the qualities of the person commissioning the text and the activities he carried out in the palace. The epithets are very short inscriptions, serving the basic function of identifying and characterizing the official

⁹⁸ Quirke 1986: 125-27.

⁹⁹ Balanda 2009: 336.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*: 336.

¹⁰¹ Wb III: 368, 17; 369, 15.

owner,¹⁰² so that they do not provide detailed descriptions of the royal buildings. However, the indication of the activities performed in the palace, every time labeled with different terms, can help to recognize the existence of functionally different palace-words and related structures. Most of these titles are not exclusive, but rather reflect a preformed pattern, so that the same epithet can be applied to different people; a specific series of epithets may be required to define the specific position held by an official at the royal court.¹⁰³ The recognition of the activities performed by palace officials may help to understand the function of various kinds of royal buildings where they acted.

Egyptian epithets fall into a category of formulaic expressions, which are neither strictly “historical” nor “literary”, such as the administrative private names on the Egyptian seals and plaques. These can be stamps, cylinders or scarab-beetle seals, whose surfaces were inscribed with the titles and names of officials, or stamp-seals of government departments and military forts, bearing usually the name of the office concerned.¹⁰⁴ Some more narrative sections may be contained in the category of the autobiographies¹⁰⁵ inscribed on the walls of private tombs,¹⁰⁶ but also in independent, self-contained monuments erected in the city of Abydos, in the vicinity of the great temple of Osiris.¹⁰⁷ Middle Kingdom autobiographies often took the form of verbal narratives, rather than lists of epithets and self-descriptive phrases.¹⁰⁸ However, the narrative account were often replaced by a long sequence of epithets listed after a first person self- presentation (introduced by *ink*, “I am”) or the formal official’s titular and name, a format labeled by Gnirs with the definition of “encomiastic autobiographies”.¹⁰⁹ Most of the Middle Kingdom epithets come from self-

¹⁰² Apart from this function, a statue, a relief or other representations, by virtue of being inscribed with the names and the characteristics of a person, was symbolically transformed from an inanimate object into the embodiment of the individual represented. Doxey 1998: 1.

¹⁰³ Doxey 1998: 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ Martin 1971: 12.

¹⁰⁵ Gnirs 1996. Lichtheim 1988.

¹⁰⁶ Most of these inscriptions have been found in the private tombs in the principal royal cemetery for the city of Itjtawy, founded by Amenemhat I at el-Lisht, in the extensive Middle Kingdom cemetery at el-Lahun, at Saqqara, between the Old Kingdom pyramids and mastabas, and at Dahshur. The principal sources of epithets from a funerary context are the rock-tombs of provincial officials in Middle and Upper Egypt: Beni Hasan is the most prolific source of texts from tombs. Meir is the burial site of the rulers of the 13th and 14th Dynasty Upper Egyptian nomes; the neighbouring sites of Assiut and Deir Rifeh house the massive tombs of the monarchs of the 13th Upper Egyptian nome; Thebes served as a capital of Egypt during the 11th Dynasty and most of the important Theban tombs of the Middle Kingdom date to the end of this Dynasty.

¹⁰⁷ Simpson 1984.

¹⁰⁸ Lichtheim 1988: 84.

¹⁰⁹ Gnirs 1996: 255-7.

descriptive phrases in autobiographies of this type.¹¹⁰ During the 12th Dynasty, the officials erected their mastabas close to the royal Pyramids of Dahshur and Lisht that are today in a bad state of conservation; from there derive fragments of long autobiographies, which, if completed, would have provided interesting information about the tomb owners.¹¹¹

The term *ḥ* is often used in expressions which denote the closeness of the official to the king as personification of Horus, generally defined as *nb ḥ*.¹¹² Several Middle Kingdom examples refer to the owners as *imy-ib Ḥr nb ḥ*, “favorite¹¹³ of Horus, Lord of the *ḥ*” or *ḥtp-ib Ḥr nb ḥ*, “one pleasing¹¹⁴ Horus, Lord of the *ḥ*”. Variants of the same expression are represented by formula *sm3y Ḥr ḥry-ib ḥ*, “associate of Horus who is in the *ḥ*” or *ḥssw Ḥr ḥry-ib ḥ*, “favored by Horus who is in the *ḥ*”. The expression *Ḥr ḥry-ib ḥ* was used referring to the king throughout much of the pharaonic history.¹¹⁵ The idea that *Ḥr* is used in substitution of the king is suggested by the fact that Horus can be replaced by word *nswt* in epithets introduced by *imy-ib (imy-ib nswt)*.¹¹⁶ The association of *ḥ* with the god-sphere, limited to Horus in Middle Kingdom inscription, will become more frequent and wider in later periods. From the New Kingdom onwards, several gods and goddesses can be associated with *ḥ* in the formula *god’s/goddess’s name + nb/nbt ḥ*, “name + Lord/Lady of the *ḥ*”. In tomb no. 1 at Assiut (A.II.31) a scene showing the vizier standing before cartouches of Sesostri I is accompanied by the epithet *ḥtp-ib n ntr nfr*, “one who pleases the good god”; above the central doorway of the same tomb *Df-ḥ’py* is called *ḥtp-ib Ḥr nb ḥ*, “one pleasing Horus, Lord of the *ḥ*”.

<i>Ḥr + ḥ</i> in private inscriptions				
<i>imy-ib (n) Ḥr m ḥ.f</i>	Favorite of Horus Lord of his <i>ḥ</i>	<i>Ddw-’lnt.f</i> (Ses. I)	Bankes Ms. No. XII C 4	A.II.26
		<i>Df-ḥ’py</i> (Ses. I)	Assiut 1	A.II.31

¹¹⁰ Doxey 1998: 12.

¹¹¹ Grajetzki 2009: 132.

¹¹² The expression “Horus in the palace” was used to designate the living king from the Old Kingdom onward (Hornung 1993: 142), and continues to refer to the king throughout much of the pharaonic history (Frankfort 1948: 36-37). For a recent analysis of the phrase in Egyptian texts see Gundlach 2009: 45 ff.

¹¹³ FCD: 32. The expression *imy-ib*, literally meaning “one who is in the hearth” is usually rendered as “favorite”.

¹¹⁴ *ḥtp-ib*, literally meaning “one who makes the hearth content” is idiomatically rendered as “one who pleases”. Doxey 1998: 144.

¹¹⁵ Frankfort 1948: 36-37.

¹¹⁶ See inscription from Sinai no. 405, in Gardiner – Peet – Černý 1952-55: pl. 85.

		<i>'lrt-f-n-tw-t</i> (Ses. I)	BM 196 [1177]	A.II.35
		<i>S3-mntw</i> (Am. II)	BM 145 [828]	A.II.48
		<i>Dḥwty-ḥtp</i> (Am. II-Ses. III)	Bersheh 2	A.II.52
		<i>Rḥ-m3'-ḥrr</i> (M.K.)	CG 20750	A.II.171
<i>imy-ib Ḥr nb 'ḥ tnn.f ḥnty mītyw.f</i>	Favorite of Horus, Lord of the 'ḥ who promotes him before his peers	<i>Df-ḥ'py</i> (Ses. 1)	Assiut 1	A.II.31
<i>Ḥr 'ḥ</i>	Horus of the 'ḥ	<i>šmsw-rn-sb</i> (12 th Dyn.)	CG 20278	A.II.96
<i>Ḥr nb 'ḥ(t)</i>	Horus Lord of the 'ḥ(t)	? (Am. III)	Sinai 98 - OIM 8663 (Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, USA)	A.II.74
		<i>S3-'Inpw</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 87	A.II.80
		<i>Ḥr-wr-r'</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 88 - mPhilUniv E 15030 A-C	A.II.81
		<i>Ḥb-'3</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 25 - mCairo JE 38573	A.II.86
		<i>R'-s3-ḥtp-ib-'nḥ</i> (M.K.)	Leiden 41 (V 7)	A.II.154
<i>ḥssw Ḥr ḥry-ib 'ḥ</i>	Favored by Horus who is in the 'ḥ	<i>Df-ḥ'py</i> (Ses. I)	Assiut 1	A.II.31
<i>ḥtp-ib Ḥr nb 'ḥ</i>	Pleasing Horus, Lord of the 'ḥ	<i>Df-ḥ'py</i> (Ses. I)	Assiut 1	A.II.31
		<i>'Imn-m-ḥ3t</i> (Am. III)	Hammamat 43	A.II.70
<i>s33 iwt.f m db3w m šḥ't Ḥr nb 'ḥ</i>	One whose coming is awaited at the crowing at the appearance of Horus, Lord of the 'ḥ	<i>Ḥnty-Smt(y)</i> (Am. II)	BM 146 [574]	A.II.45
<i>sb3t(y) Ḥr nb 'ḥ iw īr.n.ī smr hr rd nswt m Ḥb-sd</i>	Disciple of Horus, Lord of the 'ḥ says: I acted as companion who carries the King's foot-ever at the <i>Sed</i> -festival	<i>Nb-pw-Wsrt-sn</i> (Am. III)	BM 175 [101]	A.II.68
<i>sm3y Ḥr ḥry-ib 'ḥ</i>	Associated of Horus who is in the 'ḥ	<i>'Imny</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Ezbet Rushdi	A.II.114
<i>smr Ḥr nb 'ḥ</i>	Friend of Horus, Lord of the 'ḥ	<i>Stp-ib-t-r'</i> (Am. III)	CG 20538	A.II.64
<i>šḥpr n Ḥr nb 'ḥ</i>	Made in life by Horus, Lord of the 'ḥ	<i>Sbk-ḥw</i> (Ses. III)	BM 249 [1213]	A.II.56

The official can be denoted as *ḥw m ḥmy 'h*, “protector of him who is in the ‘h” or as *ḥpr m 'h*, “one who grew in the ‘h”, generically intended to express his closeness to the king and the palace itself. In most cases the term is employed in expressions such as *w' ḥr-ḥw n ḥmy 'h*, “unique for one who is in the ‘h”, which generally describe the authority of the owner and his nearness to the king. Attributes referring to officials as *ḥw* or *nd*, “protector”, *w'*, “unique”, or *wr*, “one who is great”¹¹⁷ were probably borrowed by highly ranked officials from a large class of royal epithets emphasizing the role of the king as protector, warrior or provider.¹¹⁸

Generic titles compound with 'h				
<i>ḥw ḥpr n.k ḥs m sdy ḥm.f dw3(t) w' n 'h</i>	You have indeed grown up as a foster-son of My Majesty and sole pupil of the 'h	<i>'ly-ḥr-nfrt</i> (Ses. III)	Berlin 1204	A.II.60
<i>w' ḥr-ḥw n ḥmy 'h</i>	Unique for the one who is in the 'h	<i>Df-ḥ'py</i> (Ses. I)	Assiut 1	A.II.31
<i>mrwt(.i) m ht nt smrw wr 'h ḥ'w ḥm 'k ḥr nb.f</i>	Love was in the body of the courtiers, the great one of the 'h and him who was enthroned there	<i>Mntw-ḥtp</i> (Men. II)	UC 14333	A.II.5
<i>ḥw n ḥmy-'h</i>	Protector of the one who is in the 'h	<i>Dḥwty-ḥtp</i> (Am. II-Ses. III)	Bersheh 2	A.II.52

Title *ḥrp 'h* occurs in many Late Middle Kingdom sources and mainly in a number of Sinai inscriptions citing expedition records and private seals. The title belonging to officials related in some way to the king or his court is attested since the Early Dynastic period and enjoyed a great popularity during the Old Kingdom.¹¹⁹ According to Barta's analysis of Old Kingdom occurrences of the term, the main activities of this specific office were “to take care of the personal service of the king, of his person, dress and crown, feasting, daily supplies to his palace and the like”.¹²⁰ The title owners are often represented while

¹¹⁷ Another possible translation for *wr* is “the greatest” (Doxey 1998: 32). For a full list of Middle Kingdom titles introduced by *wr* see Doxey 1998: Appendix 2.

¹¹⁸ This similarity between royal and non-royal epithets is fully explained by Doxey, in Doxey 1998: 31-2.

¹¹⁹ Barta 1999: 1.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*: 16.

attending ceremonies linked to the *Sed*-Festival.¹²¹ Trying to explain the very high frequency of these titles during the 5th Dynasty, Barta assumes that this increase was due to the process of gradual loss of central control and royal authority discernible several decades before the end of this Dynasty.¹²² K. Baer has suggested that the introduction of the title was due to the increasing power of provincial officials.¹²³ This assumption can also be applied to the Middle Kingdom historical framework. The function expressed by the title in this period is less discernible than in the earliest examples since it now appears mainly in seal inscriptions that are very short for their own nature and often do not contain expressions other than the title itself.

<i>ḥrp ḥ</i>				
<i>ḥrp ḥ</i>	At the head/controller of the ḥ	<i>Mntw-nsw</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Dahshur I	A.II.117
		<i>ḥḥ-sn</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Seal 331 - BM 37695 (ex Murch Collection)	A.II.141
		<i>Wṯw</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Seal 397 - UC 11428	A.II.142
		<i>Wṯw</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Seal 398 - UC 11480	A.II.143
		<i>Wṯw</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Seal 400 - Chicago 18581	A.II.144
		<i>Wṯw</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Seal 401 - Michaelidis Collection	A.II.145
		<i>Nb-r-šḥwy</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Seal 662 - Michaelidis Collection (ex Blanchard Collection)	A.II.146
		? (13 th Dyn.)	Seal 1815	A.II.147
		<i>ḥmny-km.s</i> (M.K.)	CG 20435	A.II.166
		<i>Ḥnkw</i> (M.K.)	UC 14696	A.II.178

¹²¹ See Part II, chapter 4, § 4.3.

¹²² Barta 1999: 17.

¹²³ Baer 1960: 301.

Title *iry 't n(t) 'h*, “overseer of the chamber of the ‘h” occurs many time in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions. The title is composed of a nisba adjective derived from the preposition *r* and literally meaning “one who is in relation with” and the word ‘t, generally translated as “chamber” or “department”. Word ‘t can be regularly used in expressions referring to different kinds of workshops as attested in Papyrus Boulaq 18 (A.I.17), where the term is used in relation to word *pr-’3* to indicate ateliers for the preparation of food.¹²⁴ The word ‘h can be replaced by *pr-’3* in the title *iry 't n pr-’3* which is commonly used during the 12th Dynasty.¹²⁵ The purpose for which the chambers of the ‘h were actually intended is not easily deducible from the context of the Middle Kingdom inscriptions. The extended version of the title in Seal 1663 *iry 't n d3d3wy n 'h*, indicate that the *d3d3wy* discussed above was considered part of the ‘h.¹²⁶ The *ihmsn 'h*, “assistant of the ‘h”, *Sn-pw* was probably an attendant of the *iry 't n(t) 'h*, “chamber-keeper of the ‘h”, in stele Toulouse 1181.

<i>iry 't n(t) 'h</i>				
<i>iry 't n(t) 'h</i>	Overseer of the chamber of the ‘h	<i>Hri</i> (Ses. III-Am. III)	Seal 1132	A.II.53
		<i>Wsr-srt.sn</i> (Ses. III)	Abydos	A.II.59
		<i>3hty-htpw</i> (Am. III)	RIK 117	A.II.91
		<i>3hty-htpw</i> (Am. III)	RIK 118	A.II.92
		<i>Gmh-i</i> (12 th Dyn.)	BM 506	A.II.111
		<i>'lbi</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Firenze 2512	A.II.125
		? (12 th Dyn.)	Zagreb 8	A.II.126
		<i>'lt</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Stele Magdeburg	A.II.128
		<i>Kmh-w</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Edfu	A.II.133
		<i>Snb</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Leiden 46 (V 105)	A.II.134
		<i>Wsr-k3-r'-nhw</i> (13 th	Seal 434 -	A.II.139

¹²⁴ Quirke 2004: 66.

¹²⁵ El-Sayed 2008: 269.

¹²⁶ In other instances *iry 't*-title occurs in connection with other architectural sections: *ip3t-nswt* (Ward 1982: no. 454), *iwnn (?) nswt* (Ward 1982: 473), *w3hy*, “columned hall” (Ward 1982: 460), *k3p* (Ward 1982: 493), *d3d3wy* (Ward 1982: 496-7). Even if the term palace is not specified, all these terms are probably to be considered part of the ‘h, like in the extended version in Seal 1663. Quirke 1990: 46.

		Dyn.)	Cleveland 14.772	
		<i>Hr-šf-ḥtp</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Seal 1141 - BM 30548	A.II.148
		<i>Rn-sbf</i> (M.K.)	Sinai 144	A.II.152
		<i>Sn-pw</i> (M.K.)	Toulouse 1181	A.II.174
		<i>Hr-šf-ḥtp</i> (M.K.)	Seal no. 1141 – BM 30548	A.II.179
<i>īry-‘t n d3d3wy n ‘h</i>	Official in the <i>d3d3wy</i> of the ‘h	<i>Sth</i> (13 th Dyn.)	Seal 1663 – BM 30541	A.II.140
<i>īhmsn ‘h</i>	Attendant of the ‘h	<i>Sn-pw</i> (M.K.)	Toulouse 1181	A.II.175

‘h can be combined with the adjective *mnḥ*, meaning “effective” or “efficient”,¹²⁷ generally used in epithets describing the official in a general way. Expressions compound with *mnḥ* can be modified by adding adjectives, specifying the field of the official’s efficiency, or indicating the location in which he showed it. The title of *Mntw-Ḥtp* recorded on the stele CG 20539 *mnḥ dd ḥ3p hr sšm ‘h*, “efficient of the secret speech in the business of the ‘h”, combines both the qualities of efficiency and eloquence generally related to Egyptian elite. Eloquence would have been another important skill required for palace officials, who had to be able to deliver administrative reports, to speak at the appropriate moment in the course of social and administrative reunions, and to relate stories in an accurate but also entertaining manner.¹²⁸ Another epithet linking the quality of eloquence to the ‘h-palace is contained in the same Abydene stele CG 20539: *gm mdt nt ‘h*, “one who find the speech of the palace”.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Wb II: 84-86.

¹²⁸ Doxey 1998: 52.

¹²⁹ Other titles contained in the same stele refer to the eloquence skills of the owner: *gm ts*, “one who finds the phrase” and *dns mhwt*, “guarded of speech”. Doxey 1998: 56. Speaking ability was commonly exalted in expedition inscriptions and Abydene stelae. It is described through the expression *whm nfrt*, “one who repeats what is good” (Hatnub 14, in Anthes 1928: 32-3, pl. 17) or the adjective *īkr*, “excellent” in the formula *īkr dd*, “excellent of speech” (CG 20539, in Lange-Schäfer 1902-25, II: 154-155; CG 20538, in Lange-Schäfer 1902-25, II: 145-150, pl. 40). Other titles express this attribute with phrases like “one who knows the outcome of his words”, *rḥ prw n mdw.f* from the tomb no. 2 of *‘Imn-m-ḥ3t* at Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893, I: pl. 7) and “one who knows the phrase on account of which one becomes angry”, *rḥ ts n kdt.(w) hr.s* from the Abydene stele of *‘Intf* BM 197 [581] (Simpson 1974: ANOC 56.2). Several other titles referring to eloquence are attested on *‘Intf*’s stele mentioned above and in some inscriptions considered in the present study: Bersheh 5 (Newberry 1893, II: pl. 34, pl. 13), Berlin 1204 (Simpson 1974: ANOC 1.1, pl. 1), MMA 57.95 (Fischer 1960: 258 ff. f. 1-2, pl. 7), MMA 12.184 (Sethe 1959: 79-80), CG 20538 (Lange-Schäfer 1902-25, II: 145-150, pl. 40). See: Doxey 1998: 54-56.

Efficiency and eloquence in the 'h				
<i>mnḥ dd ḥ3p ḥr sšm 'h</i>	Effective of secret speech in the business of the 'h	<i>Mntw-Ḥtp</i> (Ses. I)	CG 20539	A.II.32
<i>gm mdt nt 'h</i>	One who finds the speech of the	<i>Mntw-Ḥtp</i> (Ses. I)	CG 20539	A.II.32
<i>mty tnn srw n 'h</i>	Precise, whom officials of the 'h promote	<i>Dī-ikw</i> (Ses. I)	Berlin 1199	A.II.40

The quality of knowledge, most often expressed by a participial form of the verb *rḥ* “know” or “recognize”,¹³⁰ occurs in a wide variety of texts throughout the Middle Kingdom and should be understood in the general sense of learning, understanding and competence skill.¹³¹ In one occasion this attribute is combined with the term 'h in the context of the tomb 8 at el-Bersheh where 'h3 is defined as *rḥ sšm n 'h*, “one who knows the business in the palace”. Several other epithets referring to officials’ ability to speak are attested on 'Intf's stele BM 197 [581].¹³² No one of these expressions clearly connects this faculty with one of the terms for palace, but the emphasis on his eloquence, unique among contemporary autobiographies, must be taken into account. The fact that 'Intf exceptionally stressed his verbal skill¹³³ can be probably understood in the context of other titles of the inscriptions, the one referring to the palace defining him as *mty m pr-nswt rḥ ddt m ḥ3 nb*, “precise in the *pr-nswt*, one who knows what is said in every office”. The *pr-nswt* may have been a place where diplomatic skills were necessary while performing the administrative practices which are supposed to have taken place in the structure.¹³⁴

The expression *sšm 'h*, “the business of the 'h”, appears the inscription from tomb no. 8 at el-Bersheh:

Knowledge + 'h				
<i>rḥ sšm n 'h</i>	One who knows the business in the 'h	'h3 (10-11 th Dyn.)	Bersheh 8	A.II.14

¹³⁰ Wb II: 442.

¹³¹ Doxey 1998: 46.

¹³² Simpson 1974: ANOC 5.2, pl. 12. HTBM, II: pl. 23.

¹³³ For a list of Middle Kingdom titles referring to eloquence as officials’ quality see: Doxey 1998: 57.

¹³⁴ For the analysis of *pr-nswt* term in private epithets see below.

Another general phraseology using the term *ʿh* is that referring to the personal “friendship” of the owner with the *smrw*, “friends” or “companions”¹³⁵ of the palace such as in *Mntw-Htp*’s inscription UC 14333 (A.II.5):

Mrwt(.i) m ht nt smrw wr ʿh ʿw im

Love of me was in the body of the courtiers, the great one of the *ʿh* and him who was enthroned there

In royal and religious texts the officials next to the king are often called “friends” in order to emphasize their importance in comparisons to others.¹³⁶ *Wrw*, literary meaning “the great ones”,¹³⁷ was probably a designation of rank, without any indication of specific duties.¹³⁸ A distinction between two categories of *smrw*, some belonging to the *ʿh* and others to the *pr-nswt*, is highlighted by inscriptions in Heqaib 2 (A.II.34) and 9 (A.II.122) stating:

ddw n.f iiw m pr-nswt in smrw imyw ʿh

One to whom it is said: “Welcome to the *pr-nswt*” by those who are in the *ʿh*”

This class of nobility is most commonly related to the *pr-nswt*.¹³⁹ Another kind of officials can be linked to the *ʿh*, the *srw*,¹⁴⁰ generally rendered as noblemen and probably defining administrators of various ranks without any specific role.¹⁴¹ Epithets starting with verbs such as *tn*, “to choose”/“to promote” or *stp* “to choose, to select” are often used by inscriptions owner to claim to have been chosen by higher officials: *tnn srw ʿh*, “one whom the *srw* of the *ʿh* promote” (Berlin 1199 - A.II.40). Another category of palace “entourage”,

¹³⁵ Wb IV: 138. FCD: 229.

¹³⁶ Grajetzki 2009: 123. *Smr* seems to have been a designation of relatively high status, since it is used referring to a limited number of officials in inscriptions such as Assiut 1, MMA 9.180.111, BM 574. For a complete list see Doxey 1998: 164-5.

¹³⁷ Wb I: 328. FCD: 64.

¹³⁸ *Wrw* are cited in several titles listed in inscription containing references to the palace itself: UC 1433, Louvre C1, CG 20539, Assiut 1, Berheh 5, BM 196 [1177], BM 572. For a complete list of Middle Kingdom epithets referring to *wrw* see Doxey 1998: 160.

¹³⁹ See paragraph below: § 1.7.

¹⁴⁰ *Sr* is generally translated as “nobleman”, “magistrate” or “official”: Wb IV: 188; FCD: 235.

¹⁴¹ *Srw* are frequently mentioned in texts referring to palace officials, such as those considered in the present study: Beni Hasan 2, Bersheh 1, Bersheh 5, Sinai 114, Deir Rifeh 1, Assiut 1, CG 20539, Leiden V 4, CG 20538, BM 196 [1177], Berlin 1199. For a complete list of epithets referring to *srw* see Doxey 1998: 159-9.

the *šnwt*,¹⁴² is described while approaching the *‘h* (MMA 57.95 - A.II.2) and probably referred to a somewhat high status group of officials.¹⁴³

<i>Smr/w or srw + ‘h</i>				
<i>smr ‘h</i>	Companion of the <i>‘h</i>	<i>Nb-‘nh</i> (13 th Dyn.)	mPitt Carniege 4558	A.II.129
<i>mrwt(.i) m ht nt smrw wr ‘h h‘w im</i>	Love of me was in the body of the courtiers, the great one of the <i>‘h</i> and him who was enthroned there	<i>Mntw-Htp</i> (Men. II)	UC 14333	A.II.5
<i>tnn srw n ‘h</i>	One whom officials of the <i>‘h</i> promote	<i>Dī-ikw</i> (Ses. I)	Berlin 1199	A.II.40
<i>dd.f smrw nswt ‘h im i3wt n nswt sk3w b3w.f dw3 nswt</i>	He says: you royal companions of the <i>‘h</i> , give praise to the king, extol his might, praise the king	<i>Sbk-hr-hb</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 53	A.II.89
<i>ddw n.f i3w(t) m pr-nswt in smrw imyw ‘h</i>	One to whom it is said: “Welcome to the <i>pr-nswt</i> ” by those who are in the <i>‘h</i>	<i>Srn-pwt</i> (Ses. I) <i>S3-rnpwt</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Heqaib 2 Heqaib 9 - mAswan 1373	A.II.34 A.II.105

In one case *‘h* is explicitly connected with the term *m3’t*, in reference to its meaning of truth, justice and rightness in action or speech.¹⁴⁴

<i>m3’t + ‘h</i>				
<i>s’r m3’t r ‘h</i>	One who raises up Ma’at to the <i>‘h</i>	<i>Mntw-Htp</i> (Ses. I)	CG 20539	A.II.32

Another passage of the same stele CG 20539¹⁴⁵ refers to the concept of Ma’at as truth: *rdi grg nn dd sw m3’t nn i3 hr.s*, “who gave the lie not telling the truth and not coming with it”.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² For the translation of *šnwt* as “entourage” see Wb IV: 511-12. FCD: 268.

¹⁴³ Epithets referring to *šnwt* are frequent in inscriptions citing the royal palace, like those considered in the present study: CG 20538, CG 20539, BM 572, MMA 57.95, Beni Hasan 3, Dunham N 1935. For a complete list of these titles see Doxey 1998: 162.

¹⁴⁴ Assmann 1999b: 200-212. Lichtheim 1992: 28, 33-37.

¹⁴⁵ Lange-Schäfer 1902-25, II : 152, l. 8.

¹⁴⁶ Other monuments containing reference to the royal palace list epithets compound with the concept of Ma’at. In Assiut 1, BM 581, MMA 57.95, MMA 12.184 several epithets refer to the quality of the owner to listen and say the truth, despite these titles do not explicitly connect it to the place of the palace. For a more detailed analysis epithets compound with *m3’t* see Doxey 1998: 42.

The Abydene stele BM 146 [574] (A.II.45) describes the duties of *Smt(y)* the younger in the 'h-palace referring to him as "one whose coming is awaited at the crowing, at the appearance of Horus, Lord of the 'h": *s33 iwt.f m db3w m sh'(t) Hr nb 'h*. This epithet must be considered in connection with others describing the priestly career of *Smt(y)*, including *hry sšt3 n hkrw nswt*, "master of secrets of the royal insignia" and *hm nt m pr-nw*, "servant of the red crown in the shrine of Lower Egypt".¹⁴⁷ The inscription apparently refers to the 'h as a place with ritual functions, such as the crowning (*db3w*)¹⁴⁸ and the appearance (*sh'(t)*)¹⁴⁹ of the king.

1.4 The term *pr-ʿ3* in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

The major evidence for the organization of the palace comes from Papyrus Boulaq 18,¹⁵⁰ the account papyrus recording income and expenditure for the royal court during the visit to Thebes.

The two documents generally known as Papyrus Boulaq 18 were discovered by Mariette during his 1860 season of excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga; they were found on the ground behind a coffin together with a burial equipment bearing the name of *Nfr-htp*.¹⁵¹ The papyri are in two different hands, but both mention a king Sobekhotep and a vizier 'nhw and can be assigned from the early to mid 13th Dynasty.¹⁵²

The Papyrus Boulaq 18 contains the daily accounts of income and expenditure at the palace in Thebes over twelve days in the 3rd year probably of Sobekhotep II.¹⁵³ Between the last date on the *recto* and the first date on the *verso* lies a gap of eleven days. It is likely that the intact text would originally have included entries for each days of the missing eleven.

The papyrus contains separate lists of people related to the royal palace generally divided in two groups: members of the royal family (listed in S1, S18, S38, S55, S60, S72, S74) and

¹⁴⁷ Ward 1982: no. 934 1037, 895.

¹⁴⁸ FCD: 321. Wb V: 560.

¹⁴⁹ Wb IV: 237.

¹⁵⁰ Quirke 2004: 26.

¹⁵¹ Mariette 1871-1876: 6-8.

¹⁵² Quirke 1990: 11.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*: 17.

officials (listed in S55, S60, S74).¹⁵⁴ Section S11 lists separately the main people assembled in the royal palace in three columns: the functionaries listed after the vizier – *srw*, the members of the royal family and the servants – *rmt pr mn'wt* – and the unnamed attendants.¹⁵⁵ According to Quirke, while the *hnty* – the “Outer palace”¹⁵⁶ – would have been dedicated to the first group, the *k3p*¹⁵⁷ – the “Inner palace” – would have been destined to the second one.

The expression in S 25, 28, 31, 41, 43, 49 and recto 58, 64 (A.I.17) – *dí r pr-ʿ3 m 'k.n wdpww hnty*, “delivered to the *pr-ʿ3* at the arrival of the cupbearers of the Outer palace” – define a particular category of people at the palace working as beneficiaries of palace expenditure. The *hnty* is presented as a specific section of the *pr-ʿ3*.

In the same sections, other entries are classified as:

- *mnt nt šn' ddt n rmt pr mn'wt* Fixed portion of the provisioning-quarters given to the people of the house of nurses;
- *mnt nt šn' ddt n 'kyw 'š3* Fixed portion of the provisioning-quarters given to the ordinary entrants.

For the second and third of these entries, the summary account contained in S 12 for day 26 provides variants:

- *mnt nt šn' ddt n rmt pr mn'wt* Fixed portion of the provisioning-quarters given to the people of the house of nurses;
- *mnt nt 'kyw 'š3 ddw n.f m šn'* Fixed portion of the ordinary entrants regularly supplied (?) from the provisioning-quarters.

As suggested by Quirke, while the *pr-ʿ3* and more specifically the *hnty* would have been the first and most official place for delivering supplies by means of intermediaries named *wdpw*, the *rmt pr mn'wt*, “the people of the house of the nurses”, receiving *mnt* should have been located in the private quarters of the palace, and the *'kyw 'š3*, the “ordinary entrants” receiving *mnt* too should have constituted the serving staff having a restricted access to an area of the palace called *šn'*.¹⁵⁸ Beyond the barrier of the *šn'*, presumably, only

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*: 41.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 41.

¹⁵⁶ According to Quirke, the word *hnty*, literally meaning “front part” (Wb III: 301) would indicate specifically the front part of the palace, in Quirke 2004: 26.

¹⁵⁷ Wb V: 105.

¹⁵⁸ The literal translation of *'kyw* would have been “people with access”, implying that their access was restricted to a specific area the palace, in Quirke 1990: 37.

palace officials and *rmṯ pr mn*, “people of the house of nurses” would be allowed to proceed into the main palace building.¹⁵⁹

According to the text the *pr*-’s entries would have been delivered directly to the *wdpw ḥnty*, “the cupbearers of the Outer Palace”,¹⁶⁰ while the two other groups were supplied directly from the *šn*’ or “provisions quarters”, suggesting a division of the palace building into two principal sections: “the official quarters at the front”, *ḥnty*, and the private quarters at the back provided with storerooms or general servicing quarters, *šn*’.¹⁶¹

Of the specialized departments within the *šn*’ “provisioning-quarters” only the *’t iwf* “meat chamber” is mentioned in Section 30; it was divided into a *3ḥt* “stillroom” for the *ḥnty* “Outer palace”, and a *3ḥt* for the *k3p*, the “Inner palace”.¹⁶² The title *imy-r pr n šn*’, “overseer of the estate of the provisioning sector” is common in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions, but being the word *pr* without context, it is not possible to identify the *šn*’ in question, which might be that of the palace as that of any other large institution or estate which had provisioning sectors.¹⁶³ In the context of Papyrus Boulaq, the *šn*’ functioned as quarter where food for royal family and servants were prepared within the palace area.

Several sections of the papyrus (S 6, 14, 18, 22, 26, 27, 29, 37, 46, 63, 71) recording all orders for *’kw*, “special supplies” to be given to individuals or groups of people connected to the palace, are listed after the following format in two guises:¹⁶⁴

- (*Wpwt*) *iṯt.n imy-r ’ḥnwty n k3p Rn.f-m-ib ḥr.s m prt.n.f ḥr.s* (The commission) upon which came the interior overseer of the inner palace, *Rn.f-m-ib*, being (the commission) upon which he had to come forth;
- (*wpwt*) *iṯt.n sḥ n ḥnty Snby ḥr.s m prt.n wdpw Ḥq3-ib ḥr.s* (the commission) upon which came the scribe of the Outer Palace, *Snby*, being (the commission) upon which the cupbearer *Ḥq3-ib* had come forth.

Considering these two variants of the same formula, the *imy-r ’ḥnwty n k3p, Rn.f-m-ib* conveys order for food to be delivered to various officials of the palace in a specific section

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: 39.

¹⁶⁰ For the meaning of *ḥnty* as “the front” of “the outer part” of the palace building see Berlev 1960: 146-8.

¹⁶¹ Wb IV: 507.

¹⁶² Quirke 1990: 41.

¹⁶³ Quirke 2004: 65. In essence the *šn*’ was a place where materials for meals were stored and prepared; the range of work positions regarding this sector is captured in one Abydos stele of the 13th Dynasty in Oldenburg (Franke 2003). Each commodity was stored and prepared in a specifically designed unit called *’t*, “chamber” (Berlev 1978: 235-259. Grajetzki 2001: 52-54).

¹⁶⁴ Quirke 1990: 102-103.

of it, the *k3p*, while the *sš n hnty* is responsible of delivery in the *hnty*. According to Quirke, the two sectors might be identified respectively with “the Inner palace” and “the Outer palace”.¹⁶⁵ While the *sš n hnty* may have had no access to the place where the orders were issued and taken orders from a *wdpw*, the *imy-r ‘hnwty n k3p* may have been able to operate in both the *k3p* and the *hnty*.¹⁶⁶ The *k3p* was probably the section where the private quarters of the above mentioned *rmṯ pr mn*, “people of the house of the nurses” were located.

Officials’ title *imy-r ‘hnwty n k3p*¹⁶⁷ appears several times in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions. Other titles such as *hrd n k3p* and *hk3y n k3p* suggest that the *k3p* was characterized by the presence of children and magicians,¹⁶⁸ that makes reasonable to regard it as the inner section of the palace. The function and the location of the *k3p* is suggested by an elaborate variant of these title, *hrd n k3p n ipt nswt*,¹⁶⁹ establishing a connection between *k3p* and *ipt nswt* “private quarters of the king”. Section 9 of pBoulaq 18 reports commodities destined to the queen which were sent to the *k3p*, strengthening the association between this word and the royal family.¹⁷⁰ As pointed out by Quirke, if the expression *rmṯ pr mn ‘wt* denotes the persons of the private quarters who received entries of the palace, *k3p* perhaps means the private section of the building itself.¹⁷¹

The connection of the *k3p* with the royal palace is attested in private inscriptions context. *Snḅ*, the owner of stele Leiden 46 - V 105 (A.II.134) who worked as *iry ‘t n ‘h*, “overseer of the chamber of the ‘h”, is titled in another passage as *hk3y n k3p*, “*hk3y* official of the inner palace”. The *hk3y n k3p* was probably intended to provide the *k3p* with books of the *hk3*-words, deemed necessary to the safety of the palace; he may have had the general responsibility of the health of people living in the royal building.¹⁷² Considering the combination of these titles in the same monument, the function expressed by *hk3y n k3p* may have taken place in the *k3p* of the ‘h, the inner section of the ‘h-palace.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁵ Quirke 2004: 26-7.

¹⁶⁶ Quirke 1990: 102-103.

¹⁶⁷ Quirke 1990: 87-90; 106-107.

¹⁶⁸ Ward 1982: no. 1229, 1231; 1121.

¹⁶⁹ Ward 1982: no. 1230.

¹⁷⁰ Quirke 1990: 40.

¹⁷¹ Quirke 1990: 40.

¹⁷² Quirke 2004: 28.

¹⁷³ One of the servants represented on his stele worked in the ‘h with the title *hry-pr n ‘h*, “majordomo of the ‘h”.

The following scheme can be useful to summarize the sections on the division of the *pr-ʿ3* as they have been pointed out by Quirke:¹⁷⁴

palace sectors	People admitted
<p><i>pr-ʿ3</i> (palace)</p> <p><i>ḥnty</i> → <i>šnʿ</i></p> <p><i>ḥnwty = ipt nswt</i></p> <p><i>k3p</i></p> <p><i>šnʿ</i></p>	<p><i>sš n ḥnty + wdpww ḥnty + srw</i> and all who had access to the <i>k3p</i></p> <p><i>imy-r ḥnwty n k3p; rmt pr mn</i></p> <p><i>ʿkyw ʿš3</i></p>

Papyrus Boulaq mentions other architectural features of the palace:

- the *w3ḥy* is a “columned hall” in which groups of officials are given special provisions, according to Sections 36, 60 and 74.

ʿkw m w3ḥy pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb

Provisions to the columned hall of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.

In Sections 60 and 74 over sixty people are gathered at one time to eat in the *w3ḥy*, indicating a great hall of great size and importance.¹⁷⁵ It would seem that the *w3ḥy* worked as audience chamber¹⁷⁶ or meeting hall, where officials could receive their food-provisions.

¹⁷⁴ Quirke 1990.

¹⁷⁵ List contained in these sections is introduced by the formula: *imy rn srw pri r wnm t m w w3ḥy m hrw pn*, “list of names of the officials who were admitted in order to eat in the columned forecourt on this day”. This is interesting in revealing payments of food in the palace to king’s officials. Spalinger 1985: 240.

¹⁷⁶ Quirke 1990: 40.

- the *ʿrryt* are the entranceways of the palace protected by *šmsw ʿrryt*, “guards of the entrance” (sections 60 and 74).¹⁷⁷
- The *wʿrwt*. According to S 2, 19-20, 45, 47 and 70, regular sources for palace, such as bread, beer, dates and vegetables came from three main sources: the *wʿrt tp-rs*, “sector of the head of the south”, the *ḥ3 n dd rmt*, “bureau of people’s giving” and the *pr-ḥd*, “treasury”. In S 45¹⁷⁸ and 47,¹⁷⁹ these three entities are introduced as the *wʿrwt*, “the three sectors/branches (of state)”.¹⁸⁰ Also special deliveries, such as the *inw*, were brought by the vizier from the *wʿrt tp-rs* in S 10-11 and 38.¹⁸¹ However, it is not clear how these three branches provided resources and where they were located.
- A fourth state bureau mentioned in the accounts is the *ḥ3 n t3ty* which in Section 19 receives the order for an increase in regular palace provisioning,¹⁸² its scribes convey messages concerning movements of foreign people at Thebes in sections 44 and 69 of the text.

The so called Papyrus Reisner II (A.I.15) is an Egyptian account papyrus of the second half of the 12th Dynasty, found during the excavations conducted by Dr. George Andrew Reisner at Naga ed-Deir;¹⁸³ the papyrus was one of four rolls discovered lying on one of the three wooden coffins in tomb no. 408. It is essentially the record of transactions of the royal dockyard workshop, *wḥrt*, at This during regnal years 15 through 18 of Sesostri I; the activities of the workshop (*wḥrt*) in this series of accounts deal generally with carpentry and the recasting of metal tools. Papyrus Reisner II includes also administrative orders addressed to the stewards of the *pr-ʿ3* by the vizier of Sesostri I *ʿIni-tf*.

The final boat determinative¹⁸⁴ characterizes the workshop as a dockyard installation; the major portion of the text consists of accounts of metal tools of the carpentry and certain transactions between officials. From occurrences of *wḥrt* in sections reported below, the

¹⁷⁷ They are listed among officials admitted to the *w3ḥy* in order to receive food (Scharff 1920: pl. XXXVII, l. 9; XçV, l. 7). The *ʿrryt* as the entrance of the palace are known by other Middle Kingdom sources: Ward: no. 1520 and Berlev 1978: 211-12. For commentaries see: Helck 1958: 65. Spencer 1984: 152-55 and notes 89-109. Van de Boorn 1985: 6-10.

¹⁷⁸ Scharff 1920: pl. 29.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*: pl. 29

¹⁸⁰ Quirke 1990: 110.

¹⁸¹ Scharff 1920: 15, 26.

¹⁸² Quirke 1990: 117.

¹⁸³ Simpson 1965, II: 17.

¹⁸⁴ GEG: P 1.

workshop seems to have been a dependency of the *pr-ʿ3*, and to have worked as an agency of the palace.¹⁸⁵

- *dī n.f m hrw pn m ḥmty pr-ʿ3*, “given to him in this day some copper of the *pr-ʿ3*”, *pdt pr-ʿ3*, “bow of the *pr-ʿ3*” (Sections A⁵30, A⁵37);¹⁸⁶
- *īnī m r m-ʿ ḥmty Nḥty..pr-ʿ3*, “brought from the coppersmith *Nḥty..pr-ʿ3*”¹⁸⁷ (Sections C21-22);¹⁸⁸
- *rḥt ḥmty [rd]yt r whrt nt pr-ʿ3*, “account of copper given to the workshop of the *pr-ʿ3*” (Section J2);¹⁸⁹
- *ḥʿw whrt nt pr-ʿ3*, “amount of the workshop of the *pr-ʿ3*” (Section K2).¹⁹⁰

From these instances we can conclude that the workshop was a dependency of the *pr-ʿ3* and that the particular workshop or subdivision of a larger installation was particularly concerned with the coppersmiths.

In other occurrences the *pr-ʿ3* is cited in connection with the stewards and the *īmww*-boats.

- *īmyw-r pr-nw pr-ʿ3 ntyw m t3-wr*, “the stewards of the *pr-ʿ3* who are in the Thinite nome” (Sections E2 and G1);¹⁹¹
- *īr grt n3 n īmyw-r pr nty(w) [r] itt īmww nw ʿrryt nt pr-ʿ3*, “now as for these steward who shall take the *īmww*-boats of the hall of the *pr-ʿ3*” (Sections G 2-3).¹⁹²

The *īmyw-r pr* are identified as the stewards of the *pr-ʿ3* who are in the Thinite-nome (E2, G1). They are agents of the palace in charge of activities which include the work in royal dockyard workshops, the enrolling of laborers, and the preparation and dispatching of freight.

Papyrus Reisner III (A.I.16) is the third of four rolls found on one of the wooden coffin in tomb no. 408 at Naga ed-Deir. The great part of this papyrus is devoted to repetitive accounts of workmen employed day by day or assigned to the miscellaneous tasks specified

¹⁸⁵ Simpson 1965, II: 17.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: pl. 23.

¹⁸⁷ What was in the middle between the first expression and the term *pr-ʿ3* is unknown.

¹⁸⁸ Simpson 1965, II: pl. 6A.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: 17, pl. 12 A.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*: 17, pl. 14 A.

¹⁹¹ Simpson 1965, II: 21, pl. 8A; 22, pl. 10A.

¹⁹² Simpson 1965, II: 22, pl. 8A.

by the headings.¹⁹³ In this register occupations connected with the *pr-ʿ3* are cited as follows:

- *3tp/f3i ht m pr-ʿ3*, “one who carries wood in the *pr-ʿ3*”. (Section J12).¹⁹⁴
- *rht hsbw pr-ʿ3, 200 hsbw*, “account of *hsbw*, palace, 200 *hsbw*”. (Section D21).¹⁹⁵

Simpson notes the frequent occurrence of terms relating to specific elements of building, particularly temple components¹⁹⁶.

Both Papyrus Boulaq 18 and Papyrus Reisner II present the *pr-ʿ3* as a wide structure comprehending several sections with different functions and connect it to administrative and economic activities.

1.5 The term *pr-ʿ3* in titles and epithets

The *pr-ʿ3*, when mentioned in private epithets, is often connected with the nobles, *špsw* (*imy-r swt špswt pr-ʿ3*: “overseer of the noble places of the *pr-ʿ3*”).¹⁹⁷ The term appears also in generic expressions such as *imy m-b3h pr-ʿ3*, “one who is in front of the *pr-ʿ3*” (Assiut 1 - A.II.31). The *hry-pr n pr-ʿ3*, “domestic servant of *pr-ʿ3*” probably carried out his function within the living quarters of the *pr-ʿ3*, in contrast with palace staff working in the provisioning sectors.¹⁹⁸ In one occasion (Leiden 46 - V 105 - A.II.134) this palace domestic service is connected to *ʿh* in place of *pr-ʿ3*. Title *šmsw pr-ʿ3*, “servant of the *pr-ʿ3*” would have been appeared for the first time in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions.¹⁹⁹

One of the most common epithets compound with *pr-ʿ3* is the *iry-ʿt n pr-ʿ3*,²⁰⁰ composed by the *nisba iry* derived from the preposition *r*, literary meaning “who is in relation with”, and the noun *ʿt*, generally translated as “room/department”.²⁰¹ The two words form a genitival

¹⁹³ Simpson 1963-1996, III: 7.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: pl. 17A.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*: pl. 9A.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*: 15.

¹⁹⁷ Expressions such as *imy m-b3h pr-ʿ3*, “one who is in front of the *pr-ʿ3*”, or *smr pr-ʿ3*, “companion of the *pr-ʿ3*”, are not so informative to recognize the function of this structure.

¹⁹⁸ Quirke 1990: 467.

¹⁹⁹ According to Berlev the earliest example of the title *šmsw pr-ʿ3*, “servant of the *pr-ʿ3*” is contained in BM 175 [101] stele of *Nb.ḥ-pw-Sn-Wsrt*, in Berlev 1978: 212-214.

²⁰⁰ Berlev has listed forty attestations of such title. Berlev 1978: 241 and el-Sayed 2008: 270-1.

²⁰¹ Wb I: 160.

compound which could be literally translated “the one who is in relation with the department” or “the superintendent at the department”.²⁰² The word ‘t is commonly used to refer to different kinds of workshops such as the ‘t *iwf*,²⁰³ the ‘t *hnkt*²⁰⁴ or the ‘t *t*²⁰⁵ or as section of the treasury (*pr-hd*).²⁰⁶

Attestations of this title allow to state that it was used specifically in the Middle Kingdom and that it was particularly popular during the reign of Amenemhat III.²⁰⁷ Observing the provenance of these occurrences, it is possible to note that the majority of them have been found in monuments erected in the quarry sites of the southern Sinai. The reason for such a distribution may have been the need of the central administration to strengthen the control on provinces; agents of the *pr-ʿ3* would have exercised a key role in the management of resources such as the mineral resources of the Sinai.²⁰⁸ The possibility that the department expressed by the word ‘t would have some connection with the treasury with the function of management of economic resources cannot be excluded. However, other evidence show the term linked to other architectural sections, such as the *ip3t-nswt*²⁰⁹ or the *k3p*,²¹⁰ commonly interpreted as private areas of the palace. The ‘t may have been intended as a department different from time to time, depending on the context of the inscription, and the *pr-ʿ3* may have comprehended several inner sections (‘t) with different functions.

Common titles compound with <i>pr-ʿ3</i>				
<i>imy-r swt špswt pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of the noble places of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	‘lpty (12 th Dyn.)	CG 1486	A.II.113
<i>imy m-b3h pr-ʿ3</i>	One who is in front of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Df-h’py</i> (Ses. I)	Assiut 1	A.II.31

²⁰² el-Sayed 2008: 270.

²⁰³ Berlev 1978: 238. For *iwf* as “meat” see Wb I: 51; FCD: 242.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*: 239-40. For *hnkt* as “beer” see FCD: 173.

²⁰⁵ For *t* as “bread” see Wb V: 209. FCD: 242.

²⁰⁶ Berlev 1978: 243. Grajestzki hypothesizes that these functionaries could have worked within the treasury, in Grajestzki 2001: 48. Quirke states that, although they probably worked as responsables of food-production in specific workshops, they surely did not have any relationship with the storage managed by other funcionarios. Particularly, he supposes a hierarchichal position of the *iry-‘t n pr-ʿ3* and the “domestic/servant of the *pr-ʿ3*” - *hry-pr n pr-ʿ3*, the latter working under the first, in Quirke 2004: 66. Tallet, considering the *iry-‘t n pr-ʿ3* reponsable of the storage of products, has proposed the secific translation of the title “responsible of cellier”, in Castle - Tallet 2001: 107.

²⁰⁷ el-Sayed 2008: 270-1.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*: 272.

²⁰⁹ Berlev 1978: 237.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*: 245.

<i>iry-‘t n pr-‘3</i>	Overseer of the chamber of the <i>pr-‘3</i>	<i>Wr-nb</i> (11 th Dyn.)	Seal 416 (BM 66728 - ex Spencer-Churcill Collection)	A.II.15
		<i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i> (Ses. II)	Durham N1935	A.II.50
		<i>Sn-wsrt – ‘nh</i> (Ses. III)	Durham N1936	A.II.54
		<i>‘Imny</i> (Ses. III)	CG 20259	A.II.55
		<i>‘Imnyy</i> (Ses. III)	BM 154 [565]	A.II.63
		<i>‘ly-ḥr-nfrrt</i> (Ses. III-Am. III)	CG 20140	A.II.63
		<i>Ppy</i> (Am. III)	Louvre C 33	A.II.66
		<i>Ht-sty-wrt</i> (Am. III)	Louvre C 5	A.II.69
		<i>Wsrt-sn-‘nh</i> (Ses. III)	Musée Guimet C 6	A.II.71
		<i>Nb-š3bt</i> (Ses. III)	RIK 106	A.II.73
		<i>Rn.f-snb</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 110	A.II.75
		<i>Sỉ-ny-Wsr</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 114	A.II.77
		<i>Nb-ms</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 85	A.II.78
		<i>Sỉ-ny-Wsr</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 92	A.II.82
		<i>‘lw.f-n.ỉ</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 143	A.II.83
		<i>Kms(w)</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 115	A.II.84
		<i>Šp-ss</i> (12 th Dyn.)	BM 313 [249]	A.II.102
		<i>Wsr</i> (12 th Dyn.)	BM 241 [237]	A.II.103
		<i>Rrwt</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Leiden 52 (V 99)	A.II.132
		<i>Pw-w3ḥ-ptḥ</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Dahshur 200	A.II.119
		<i>?</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Rodin 42	A.II.121
		<i>‘lw.f</i> (12 th Dyn.)	CG 70036	A.II.122
		<i>Snb sw m-‘(ỉ)</i> (13 th Dyn.)	CG 20075	A.II.130
		<i>T3-rrw(t)</i> (13 th Dyn.)	BM 315 [242]	A.II.131
		<i>‘lhms-n-3ḥt-w3s-ḥtp</i> (M.K.)	CG 20149	A.II.170

		<i>Rswt-snb-s</i> (M.K.)	CG 20225	A.II.171
		? (M.K.)	Berlin 7309	A.II.173
		<i>Sn''-ib</i> (M.K.)	Seal 1475	A.II.176
		<i>Wsr-ts-n-'nh</i> (M.K.)	Alnwick 1936	A.II.177
<i>sr pr-'3</i>	Courtier of the <i>pr-'3</i>	<i>'lnty</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 86	A.II.79
<i>šmsw (n) pr-'3</i>	Retainer of the <i>pr-'3</i>	<i>Nb-pw-Wsrt-sn</i> (Am. III)	BM 175 [101]	A.II.68
		<i>Mn-htp</i> (M.K.)	Seal no. 547 – Philadelphia 10116	A.II.138
		<i>Nb-'nh</i> (M.K.)	CG 20627	A.II.167
		<i>Hsbw-ii-m-htp</i> (M.K.)	CG 20235	A.II.168
<i>hry-pr n pr-'3</i>	Majordomo/domestic servant of the <i>pr-'3</i>	<i>'lb</i> (11 th Dyn.)	Seal 102 Michaelides Collection (ex Blanchard collection)	A.II.16
		? (Am. III)	Sinai 105	A.II.85
		<i>Snb-ti-fy</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 28	A.II.88
		<i>Stm-s3.f</i> (Am. III-IV)	BM 219	A.II.93
		<i>Snb-sw-m'</i> (12 th Dyn.)	BM 232 [215]	A.II.99
		<i>Hn-ms</i> (12-13 th Dyn.)	Marseille 23	A.II.123
		<i>Hn-ms</i> (12-13 th Dyn.)	Turin 1620	A.II.124
		<i>Sdm-nw</i> (?) (M.K.)	CG 20085	A.II.163
		<i>'nhw</i> (M.K.)	CG 20104	A.II.164
		<i>R'-nfr</i> (M.K.)	CG 20616	A.II.165

The *pr-'3* is presented by inscriptions as a structure composed by inner or outer different sections. Outer spaces consist of lakes (*š*) which are associated with this type of structure in both private and official inscriptions. In the inscription of Amenemhat II from the temple of Ptah at Memphis, for example, a lake of the *pr-'3* (*š n pr-['3]*) is cited in a passage referring to Sesostri I (A.I.8). Interior sections correspond to different administrative districts or architectural devices in most cases associated with a specific word of the five used for

“palace” in Egyptian language. Among these is the treasury (*pr-ḥd*), most commonly related to the *pr-nswt*.²¹¹

Term *ḥnwty* appears more than once in titles compound with *pr-ʿ3*. Together with the word *ḥnrt*, the group of people employed in recreational activities for the king,²¹² it seems seem to refer to the private sections of the royal palace, for the use of the king and the royal family.²¹³ *ḥnwty* probably meant originally “interior”²¹⁴ of a building and had a wide meaning in the phrase *imy-r ḥnwty*.²¹⁵ However, the term is often used in contexts that suggest the administrative nature of its functions. The owner of stele Louvre C 5, who worked as *iry-t n pr-ʿ3* - “overseer of the chamber of the *pr-ʿ3*” – is also entitled *imy-r ḥnwty n ḥ3 n pr n ḥtmw* – “overseer of the *ḥnwty* of the house of the office of the house of the sealer”. Similarly title of *Nmb.sn.ī-n.ī(?)* on his seal MMA 26.7.312, *imy-r ḥnwty n pr-ḥd pr-ʿ3*, introduces the *ḥnwty* as an administrative department of the treasury of the *pr-ʿ3*.

Different sections related to the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>				
<i>imy-r ḥnwty n pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of the <i>ḥnwty</i> of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Ḥnty ḥʿ3(t).ī</i> (12 th Dyn.)	BM 319 [251]	A.II.95
<i>imy-r ḥnwty n pr-ḥd pr-ʿ3</i>	One who is in the <i>ḥnwty</i> in the treasury of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Nmb.sn.ī-n.ī(?)</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Seal 743a- MMA 26.7.312 (Ex Carnavon Collection)	A.II.112
<i>nb srḥ ʿ3 mrwt nswt m wsḥt pr-ʿ3</i>	Lord of the counsel, loved by the king in the hall of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Mntw-Ḥtp</i> (Ses. I)	CG 20539	A.II.32
<i>sš n ḥnrt pr-ʿ3</i>	Scribe of the servants of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>S3-mntw</i> (Am. II)	BM 145 [828]	A.II.49
<i>m3' ḥnt-š n pr-ʿ3</i>	Inspector of the garden of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Wsīr-sn-pw</i> (M.K.)	CG 20030	A.II.169

²¹¹ See paragraph below: § 1.7.

²¹² The group of people referred to as *ḥnrt* could include men as well as women who are often singers and dancers represented in recreational activities for the king from the Old Kingdom onwards. Whatever “harem” implications *ḥnrt*-scenes and inscriptions might have, it does not seem warranted to ascribe a “harem” meaning to the *ḥnrt*, which would mean instead a group of servants entertaining the king, in Nord 1973: 35. The word *ḥnrt* would come from the verb *ḥnr*, “restrain”, meaning all those who are in the seclusion of a place, whether it would be the palace or the temple, in Gitton 1984: 98.

²¹³ Gardiner 1916: 67.

²¹⁴ Wb I: 226, 16.

²¹⁵ A number of available examples of the title *imy-r ḥnwty* have been collected by Gauthier 1918: 169 ff.

pr-ʿ3 could replace the other terms for “palace” in private titles compound from time to time with more fitting terms, and specifically the *pr-nswt*.

<i>imy-r sš n pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of writing in the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Tît-nb-îm3h</i> (M.K.)	Berlin 1200	A.II.172
<i>hnty st m pr-ʿ3</i>	Foremost of place in the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Nfr-hnmw</i> (Ses. I-Am. I)	Deir Rifeh 1	A.II.44
<i>htmw pr-ʿ3</i>	Sealer of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Men. IV)	Hammamat 113	A.II.10

Among the five terms for “palace”, *pr-ʿ3* would seem to be the one with the broadest meaning, since it is found in association with architectural sections commonly used in relation to more specific terms. In this sense, *pr-ʿ3* would be intended as structure inclusive of different palatial structures defined by other terms for “palace”. The genitival relation between term *ʿh* and *pr-ʿ3* in the title referred to god Osiris in stele BM 218 [243] (A.II.110) of *Hnty-hty-m-h3t* suggests a belonging relation between the two institutions, as if the *ʿh* would be an inner section of the wider *pr-ʿ3*:

nb sh3 nfr m ʿh pr-ʿ3

Lord of good remembrance in the *ʿh pr-ʿ3*

The limited use of the term in private inscriptions prevents a complete reconstruction of its meaning, which can be rather understood thanks to other types of sources. This interpretation can be supported by mention of the term in the main administrative documents of the present study (pBoulaq 18 and pReisner II), in which the *pr-ʿ3* clearly includes several architectural sections with multiple functions.²¹⁶

1.6 The term *pr-nswt* in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

The term *pr-nswt* occurs in two examples of Middle Kingdom literature, the yet cited Admonitions of Ipuwer and the Teaching of vizier Ptahotep. The Maxims of vizier Ptahotep (A.III.1) is a list of maxims spoken by the vizier of the 5th Dynasty King Iseki to vizier Ptahotep. Being the earliest manuscripts dated to the middle of the 12th Dynasty itself, it seems that the text was composed at the beginning of that Dynasty and that was set in the

²¹⁶ See paragraph above: § 1.4.

Old Kingdom, as example of golden age for the future.²¹⁷ Teaching consists of thirty-seven maxims dealing with the right social behaviour of Egyptian elite. *Pr-nswt* citation occurs in the thirty-first maxim, which urges respect towards social superior and appeals directly to vizier Ptahotep. His title *imy-r pr-nswt*, “overseer of the *pr-nswt*”, establishes a link between the *pr-nswt* and the most important administrative role of the Egyptian state: the vizirate.

Reading literary texts brings to the problem of their reliability as sources to rebuild aspects of ancient Egyptian culture. As with all forms of literature, there can be many multiple reading and different interpretations of these compositions²¹⁸ that do not let read and understand these texts in only one way. Internal interpretations should be complemented by external factors such as the usage of the composition, its reader-ship, audience and transmission.²¹⁹ In some texts, especially tales,²²⁰ without a specific contextual determination and demanding a particular strategy of interpretation, a framing story provides a fictional context for a fictional narration.²²¹

Although fictional, literature keeps the reflection of *decorum*²²² of the period when it was written. Although not always usable to reconstruct historical events, it reflects the vision of society and culture (even exclusive) as they were perceived by protagonists and auditors of stories.

The cycle of tales conserved on the Papyrus Westcar (A.III.7) are set in the Old Kingdom, specifically at the time of the 4th Dynasty at the court of King Cheops. This is not an historical setting, but only the occasion to narrate marvellous events happened in the past, told by the king’s sons, and to introduce the prophecy of the wondrous birth of the kings who were to found the next Dynasty. Cheops asks his princes to entertain him and they tell tales about his ancestor kings. The second narration about Snefru begins relating how one day the king went around every chamber of his palace to find ‘some relief’:

4, 24-5) *dd.in n.f [hm.f] [iw dbhn.n.i ‘t nbt nt pr-nswt] [‘nh wd3 snb] r hh n.i st kbt n gm n.i*

[His Majesty] said to him: I have [gone through all the rooms] in the *pr-nswt*, i. p. h., in search of a seat of health (some relief) for myself

²¹⁷ Parkinson 1997: 246.

²¹⁸ Parkinson 1996: 152-155.

²¹⁹ Assmann 1996. Quirke 1996.

²²⁰ Parkinson divides the “Ancient Egyptian Poems” in three main categories: “tales”, “discourses” and “teachings”. In the category of tales are included compositions as the Tale Sinuhe, The Eloquent Peasant, The Shipwrecked Sailor and the stories from the Westcar Papyrus. Parkinson 1997.

²²¹ Assmann 1996: 62

²²² Baines 1990: 1-23. Baines 1991: 123 ff.

The episodes are set in the palace of Memphis, the administrative centre and residence city of the 4th and 5th Dynasty. The lector priest answers Snefru to proceed to the lake of the *pr-ʿ3* and to fill a barque with all the beautiful women of the inner section of the *ʿh*:

5,1-2) *ḥwy-3 wd3 ḥm.k r š n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb* Would that Your Majesty proceeds to the lake of
ʿprn.k b3w m nfrwt nbwt n ḥnw ʿh.k *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.; fill a boat with all the beauties from
 inside your *ʿh*

In the same sentence the terms *pr-ʿ3* and *ʿh* are both used, the first one being described as a physical place equipped with external areas such as a lake, and the other one referring to its inner section used by royal women. In another occasion *pr-nswt* word is used again in a passage of the same tale, describing the court making holiday. The king is said to have spent the day festing together with the *pr-nswt* (*ḥnʿ pr-nswt*), here indicating a group of people rather than a proper place. The *pr-nswt* is the place where the king has rewarded the high lector priest *D3d3-m-ʿnh* with every good thing.

6, 13-4) *wrš.n ḥm.f ḥr ḥrw nfr ḥn-ʿ pr-nswt ʿnh* His Majesty spent all the day making holiday
wd3 snb mī kī.f pr.n fḳ3.n.f ḥry ḥbt ḥry-tp D3D3- together with the entire *pr-nswt*, l. p. h. and so
m-ʿnh m bw nb nfr he rewarded the high lector *D3D3-m-ʿnh* with
 every good thing

The entrances of the palace mentioned several times in the Admonitions of Ipuwer (A.III.8) as *b3kw* or *g3wt* are more clearly listed in section 10.3-6: the products cited here are manufactured and stored in the *šnʿ n nswt*, “the workshop of the king”. The *pr-nswt* is the actual place of such workshops and the collecting point of *b3kw*.²²³ In his tomb at Beni Hasan, the nomarch *ʿlmn-m-ḥ3ty* recorded payments of *b3kw* to the *pr-nswt* (A.II.43). The items of revenue that should be brought to the *pr-nswt* are listed in pairs beginning with staple foods (barley and emmer; birds and fish) and continuing with dress and adornment (white linen and fine linen), copper and oil/fat, plants and matting. They are actually missing and the final couplet contains the lament about the *pr-nswt* and the lack of resources.²²⁴ The current passage resumes the theme from 3.12 where the absence of *b3kw* is treated in a similar way: *iw pr-ḥd r-m m-ḥmt b3kw.f*, “what is a treasury for without its taxes?”. According to this text, both *pr-ḥd* and *šnʿ* may have been architectural sections of the *pr-nswt* palace.

²²³ Wb I: 428-29. For a detailed analysis of the usage of the term see Bleiberg 1981: 107 ff. and Bleiberg 1988: 157 ff.

²²⁴ For the interpretation of the last sentence of the strophe see Enmarch 2005: 164.

1.7 Titles and epithets compound with term *pr-nswt*

The most common designation of the palace in Middle Kingdom epithets is *pr-nswt*, literally “house of the king”, which appears in more inscriptions than any other terms for the palace or its components.²²⁵ Epithets and other expressions refer to the *pr-nswt* in some recurrent ways: *ḥwn rsy n pr-nswt*, “southern pillar of the palace”, *ḥwn rsy ʿ3 n pr-nswt*, “great southern pillar of the palace” and *ḥwn šmʿw n pr-nswt*, “Upper Egyptian pillar of the palace” occur as epithets of vizier and other highly ranked officials connected to the central government.²²⁶

<i>ḥwn n pr-nswt</i>				
<i>ḥwn rsy ʿ3 n pr-nswt</i>	Great southern pillar of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Df-ḥpy</i> (Ses. I)	Assiut 1	A.II.31
		<i>Mntw-Ḥtp</i> (Ses. I)	CG 20539	A.II.32
		<i>Stp-ib-t-rʿ</i> (Am. III)	CG 20538	A.II.64
<i>ḥwn šmʿw n pr-nswt</i>	Upper Egyptian pillar of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Ḥtp</i> (Am. I)	Saqqara 11Sq	A.II.20
		<i>ʿlhyy</i> (Am. I)	Saqqara 18x	A.II.21

The term *pr-nswt* can be linked to concepts of precision and accuracy expressed by the adjective *mty*:²²⁷ *mty m pr nswt*. The association of “precision” with attributes of justice and balance²²⁸ is known by other expressions, which liken the officials to deities such as Thoth embodying divine justice and accuracy.²²⁹ Both precision and justice are qualities suggesting an administrative aspect of the officials’ functions.

<i>mty + pr-nswt</i>				
<i>mty m/n pr-nswt</i>	Precise in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Nsw-Mntw</i> (Am. I – Ses. I)	Louvre C1	A.II.23
		<i>Sn-pw</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Turin 1628 (276)	A.II.108

²²⁵ Doxey 1998: 121.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*: 122.

²²⁷ Wb II: 168. FCD: 120.

²²⁸ The Abydene stele of *ʿIntf* son of *Snt* calls him *ʿk3 mḥ ḥsw*, “precise like a balance” and the stele of *S-ḥtp-ib-Rʿ*, also from Abydos, claims that he is *ʿk3 r tḥ*, “more precise than the plummet of a balance”. Doxey 1998: 44.

²²⁹ *Mtr m3ʿ mḥ Dḥwtj*, “one who is truly precise, Thoth”. Doxey 1998: 43.

<i>mty m pr-nswt rh ddt m h3 nb</i>	Precise in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , one who knows what is said in every office	<i>'Intf</i> (Ses. I)	BM 197 [581]	A. II.33
---	--	-----------------------	--------------	----------

The concept of knowledge, once used in connection with '*h*',²³⁰ is commonly compound with word *pr-nswt*. Knowledge of one's position in the social order is expressed by the phrase *rh st-rd.f*, "one who knows his standing"²³¹ and it is often modified by the addition of the phrase *m pr-nswt*. Knowledge, as emphasized in this type of epithets, does not refer to the intelligence or the understanding skills of the official, but to his acceptance of his social status and his role in ensuring Ma'at.²³²

Knowledge + <i>pr-nswt</i>				
<i>rh st-rd.f m pr-nswt</i>	One who knows his standing in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Df-h'py</i> (Ses. I)	Assiut 1	A.II.31
		<i>'Imn-m-h3ty</i> (Ses. I – Am. II)	Beni Hasan 2	A.II.42
		<i>'In-ît.f</i> (Men. II)	MMA 57.95	A.II.2
		<i>Mn(tw)-h̄tp</i> (Am. II)	Sinai 47	A.II.49
		<i>Snf-rt</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 112	A.II.76
		<i>Rmny-ḥ̄</i> (12 th Dyn.)	CG 20571	A.II.101
		<i>Hnty-h̄tp</i> (M.K.)	Sinai 412	A.II.150

Several common epithets emphasize the official's dominance over his colleagues, by using the *nisba*-adjective *hnty* with the meaning of "foremost."²³³ The epithets may specify the location of the office in which the subject was employed, *'In-ît.f* calling himself *hnty i3wt m pr-nswt*, "foremost of offices in the *pr-nswt*" in stele MMA 57.95 (A.II.2) and probably referring to his administrative responsibilities. The expression can be replaced by the formula *hnty st m pr nswt* in *Df-h'py*'s and *'h3-n-hnt*'s inscriptions (Assiut 1 - A.II.31; Bersheh 5 - A.II.13).²³⁴ The substitution of *pr-nswt* with *pr-3* in the inscription of *Nfr-hnmw*

²³⁰ See above, § 1.3, 26.

²³¹ Doxey 1998: 47.

²³² For the concept of Ma'at see Assmann 1999b and Lichtheim 1992: 35.

²³³ Wb III: 304-306. FCD: 194.

²³⁴ The term *pr-nswt* can be replaced by *stp-s3* as in the case of *Ddw-Sbk*'s stele BM 193 [566] (A.II.11).

from Deir-Rifeh (Deir Rifeh 1 - A.II.44) can be considered an exception to the most common epithets compound with *pr-nswt*.

<i>ḥnty + pr-nswt</i>				
<i>ḥnty i3wt m pr-nswt</i>	Foremost of offices in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	'In- <i>it.f</i> (Men. II)	MMA 57.95	A.II.2
<i>ḥnty (n) st m pr-nswt</i>	Foremost of position in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	' <i>ḥ3-n-ḥnt</i> (10-11 th Dyn.)	Bersheh 5	A.II.13
		<i>Df-ḥ'py</i> (Ses. I)	Assiut 1	A.II.31

Being the term frequently connected to the administrative field, *pr-nswt* seems to have included offices related to different branches of the civil administration and to the justice system.²³⁵ The title *sš pr-nswt* establishes a connection between the *pr-nswt* and the registration role of the scribe (A.II.136) somehow linked to economic and bureaucratic affairs.²³⁶

In his study on Middle Kingdom titles, Doxey has highlighted the frequent occurrence of epithets compound with *pr-nswt* in provincial administrators' inscriptions from Assiut, Beni Hasan or Hatnub; this frequency might be explained on the basis of the intention of provincial officials to associate themselves to the central administration.²³⁷

Probably because of this association with the administration, the *pr-nswt* is often mentioned in epithets of provincial officials who wanted to connect themselves to the central royal government or who interacted with it in concrete terms, in the context of *pr-nswt*.

Also general expressions indicating the correct behavior of the officials can bear the term *pr-nswt*: *smr ('3) n pr-nswt*, "(great) companion in the *pr-nswt*", *wr snd m ḥnw pr-nswt*, "great of respect inside the *pr-nswt*". Such titles are not exclusively of expressions compound with *pr-nswt*, which can be replaced by all the other terms for palace and especially by '*ḥ*. The term *wrw* can be most frequently associated with *pr-nswt*. In particular it refers to an entourage that is introduced by the inscription owner in front of the king or is

²³⁵ Van de Boorn 1989: 66-67, 322-324.

²³⁶ Titles that connect the term *sš* with *pr-nswt* are more often attested in later period, especially in the New Kingdom and Ramessid Period. Gardiner 1947: 24 no. 85

²³⁷ Doxey 1998: 122.

greeted by the official at the gates of the *pr-nswt*.²³⁸ *iw n.f wrw m ksw r rwty pr-nswt*, “one to whom the *wrw* come bowing down at the gates of the palace”.²³⁹ According to Fisher, the *rwty pr-nswt* “probably refers to a gathering preliminary to a ceremonial entrance into the palace”.²⁴⁰ The dual form for *rwty*, which develops from the Middle Kingdom in reference to the entrance to the *pr-nswt*,²⁴¹ continues to be used in the New Kingdom in relation to the same term. The text from the tomb of *Rḥ-mī-R’* (B.II.33), known as *The Duties of the Vizier*,²⁴² records the meeting between the vizier and the other officials at the *sb3* of the *rwty wrty*.²⁴³ In her lexicographical study, Spencer has suggested that this specific usage of the term would show how the *rwty* was regarded more as an “entrance” than as “door” since it could have a door (*sb3*) on its own.²⁴⁴

<i>smr/wrw/ ḥ3ty-’ + pr-nswt</i>				
<i>iw n.f wrw m kswm ksw r rwty pr-nswt</i>	One to whom the great ones of the North and the South come bowing at the gates of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Mntw-Ḥtp</i> (Ses. I)	CG 20539	A.II.32
		<i>’In-ī.t.f</i> (Men. II)	MMA 57.95	A.II.2
		<i>Mrw</i> (Men. II)	Shatt er Rigal 459	A.II.4
<i>wr snd m-ḥnw pr-nswt</i>	One great of fear in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Mntw-Ḥtp</i> (Ses. I)	CG 20539	A.II.32
<i>wr ’3 m pr-nswt</i>	A very great one in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Ddw-’lnt.f</i> (Ses. I)	Bankes Ms. No. XII C 4	A.II.26
<i>smr ’3 pr-nswt</i>	Great companion in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>’lḥyy</i> (Am. I)	Saqqara 18x	A.II.21
<i>smr m pr-nswt</i>	Companion of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Mntw-Ḥtp</i> (Ses. I)	CG 20539	A.II.32
<i>snw ḳn m pr-nswt</i>	Brave companion in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Mnt-wsrt</i> (Ses. I)	MMA 12.184	A.II.29
<i>ḥ3ty-’ ḥ3tyw-’ m pr-nswt</i>	Leader of the princes of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Nḥry-s</i> (11 th Dyn.)	Hatnub 16	A.II.17
<i>ḥry srwd pr-nswt</i>	One who is at the head of the controllers of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	? (Men. II)	mCairo 3.6.25.1	A.II.3

²³⁸ *Ibid.*: 160.

²³⁹ The epithet *iw n.f wrw m ksw*, “one to whom the *wrw* come bowing down” is among the most common epithets in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions. In some cases the individuals described by these epithets also hold titles involving the palace. For a complete list of Middle Kingdom phrases compound with *iw n.f wrw* see Doxey 1998: 171.

²⁴⁰ Fischer 1960: 75.

²⁴¹ Spencer 1984: 201.

²⁴² Van de Boorn 1989.

²⁴³ See paragraph below: § 2.7.

²⁴⁴ Spencer 1984: 202.

In the inscription of Amenemhat from Beni Hasan and other examples, term *pr-nswt* is connected with verb *ḥsī*, “to praise”, which is more commonly related to the *stp-s3* also in later occurrences.²⁴⁵

<i>wr ḥs(w)t m pr-nswt</i>	One great of praises/favors in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Rḥ-m3'-irr</i> (M.K.)	CG 20750	A.II.155
		<i>Mr-rw-ry-t-pri-pi</i> (M.K.)	CG 20288	A.II.158
		<i>'Imn-m-ḥ3t</i> (Ses. I – Am. II)	Beni Hasan 2	A.II.42

In the autobiographical inscription of *'Imn-m-ḥ3t* on the jambs of the doorway to the main chamber in tomb no. 2 at Beni Hasan, the reason of his praising/favoring is explained in a passage meaningful for understanding the function of the *pr-nswt*. After an expedition abroad, ordered by his king, *'Imn-m-ḥ3t* has to go back to the *pr-nswt* to bring the gold appointed to him (*nbw š3.n.i*) and there he is favored (*ḥsī*) for his service:

l. 13) iw m ḥtp in nhw.sn in n.i nbw š3 n.i ḥsī kwi Returning back in peace, they had not decreased.
ḥr.s m pr-nswt I brought the gold appointed to me. I was
 favored/praised for it in the *pr-nswt*

Few lines later, he is said to be favored in the *pr-nswt* for having assured the stock-taking (*irw*) for which he was in charge and the *b3kw*-delivery²⁴⁶ he was responsible for:

ḥsī kwi ḥr.s m pr-nswt r tnw rnpt nt irw f3i.n.i I was favored/praised for it in the *pr-nswt* at each
b3kw.sn nb n pr-nswt annual occasion of stock-taking” (*irw*) and he
 manages the *b3kw*-delivery

Apart from the *b3kw*, another form of taxation, the *inw*,²⁴⁷ was related somehow to the *pr-nswt*, as suggested by the title of *Hnmw-ḥtp* in tomb inscription Beni Hasan 3 (A.II.51): *smr w'ty '3 im n smrw 'š3 inw pr-nswt*, “unique friend, great of favor among the courtiers, abundant *inw* of the *pr-nswt*”.

A number of private titles introduced by expression *imy-r*, “overseer”, refer to oversight-activities concerning some specific spheres of state administration. The unique occurrence

²⁴⁵ Goelet 1986: 96.

²⁴⁶ Bleiberg 1988: 157 ff.

²⁴⁷ Bleiberg 1984: 155 ff.

of the title *imy-r k3wt nbw n pr-nswt*, “overseer of all the works in the *pr-nswt*” in stele CG 20538 of *Stp-ib-t-r’* is flanked by more complex expressions in biographical inscriptions. According to his inscription from the Wadi Hammamat (Hammamat G 61), *Whmw ’Imny* had control of an army (*mš’*) that executed all the orders that he commanded to him about all the works (*k3wt*) in the *pr-nswt*. In the specific context of this inscription, *k3wt* would seem to refer to the activities performed by the army in the *pr-nswt*, working as centre of military operations and control of foreign missions (*ipwt*).²⁴⁸

Titles compound with <i>imy-r + pr-nswt</i>				
<i>imy-r pr-nswt</i>	Overseer of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Nhry</i> (Men. IV) <i>Wsir-sn-pw</i>	Hatnub 25 CG 20030	A.II.9 A.II.169
<i>imy-r mš’ n pr-nswt</i>	Commander of the palace guard	<i>Bb</i> (M.K.)	Leiden 9 (V 88)	A.II.136
<i>imy-r k3wt nbw n pr-nswt</i>	Overseer of all the works in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Stp-ib-t-r’</i> (Am. III)	CG 20538	A.II.64
<i>irt skm n ib.i m ipwt n pr-nswt</i>	I did service for My Lord in the missions of/for the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Ntr-htp</i> (11 th Dyn.)	Hatnub 14	A.II.11
<i>nb wd.i n.f m k3wt nbt nt pr-nswt</i>	All I command to him about all the works in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Whmw ’Imny</i> (Am. I – Ses. I)	Hammamat G 61	A.II.22
<i>šwi m “wy hr hn(t) nb n pr-nswt</i>	One free of sleeping in every occupation/command of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>’Imn-mh3t</i> (Ses. I)	Hatnub 49	A.II.30
<i>hry hmt nbt nt pr-nswt r šm-ibw</i>	Chief of the craft of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Snbw</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Hekaib 49 - mAswan 1337	A.II.105

Professions generally associated with the *pr-nswt*-palace in officials’ titles and autobiographies suggest the administrative and economic nature of the activities managed by them inside this structure. While the *imy-r h’w wr m pr-nswt* in the inscription from tomb no. 36 at Aswan has in charge the furnishing of the treasury (*spdd pr-ḥd*), the duty of *h3ty* described in his stele from Theban Tomb no. 65 consists of revising the cattle list (*irw*)²⁴⁹ of the *pr-nswt*. Other activities involving administrative functions are those of the scribe (*sš*), the sealer (*htmw*) or the treasurer (*htmw nb nt pr-ḥd*) witnessed by private titles. Some officials were employed in management of warehouses (*šn’w*)²⁵⁰ in which

²⁴⁸ GEG: 553.

²⁴⁹ Literally: *irw* = “cattle-tax”, in FCD: 27.

²⁵⁰ Wb IV: 507-8. FCD: 269.

provisions destined to the *pr-nswt* (*‘kw n pr-nswt*) were conveyed. Title *imy-r mrḥwt nbwt n pr-nswt*, attributed to *[..]Hnmw nḥt* in stele CG 20518 probably refers to the duty of administrate furnitures and supplies conveyed to the royal palace. Producers of goods, the same that were managed in the *pr-nswt* by specialized responsables, were probably involved in the same administrative process, like for example the registration of entries. Among them the *ḥry ḥryw m’3t nbt špsst nt pr-nswt*, “artisan in every costly stone of the *pr-nswt*” is linked to the *pr-nswt* in the graffito from Wadi Hammamat no. 40.

Administrative offices related to the <i>pr-nswt</i>				
<i>‘prw m šn’w s m ‘kw n pr-nswt</i>	Master of the stores, man of the provisions for the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>‘lmm-h3t</i> (Ses. I)	Hammamat 87	A.II.28
<i>imy-r ‘h’w wr m pr-nswt spdd pr-ḥd</i>	Great overseer of ships in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , furnishing the treasury	<i>S3-rnpwt</i> (Ses. III)	Aswan tomb 36	A.II.61
<i>imy-r mrḥwt nbwt n pr-nswt</i>	Overseer of all the oils of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>[..]Hnmw nḥt</i> (M.K.)	CG 20518	A.II.161
<i>nn sp ṛr ḥr n rt nb m ṛp r ṛrw pr-nswt</i>	Never did I the bidding of any man in revising the cattle-lists of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>‘h3ty</i> (13 th Dyn.)	TT 65b	A.II.137
<i>ḥtmw ntyw m pr-nswt ‘nhw nt r ‘rryt m33 st3.ṛ r pr-nswt</i>	The sealers who are in the <i>pr-nswt</i> and the people at the <i>‘rryt</i> (portal, porch?) see my admittance to the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Wp-w3wt-‘3</i> (Ses. I - Am. II.)	GL WAF 35	A.II.41
<i>sš pr-nswt</i>	Scribe the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Snb</i> (12 th Dyn.)	Turin 130	A.II.120
<i>sš kdwt m pr-nswt</i>	Draftman in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Wnḥtṛ</i> (M.K.)	CG 20457	A.II.160
<i>ḥtmw nb nt pr-ḥd ṛ3t nbt nt pr-nswt</i>	Sealer of all what is in the <i>pr-ḥd</i> , office of everything is in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	? (Men. IV)	Hammamat 113	A.II.10
<i>ḥry ḥryw m’3t nbt špsst nt pr-nswt</i>	Artisan in every costly stone of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>‘lpṛ-s3-ṛpṛ</i> (Ment. II)	Hammamat 40	A.II.1

Particularly meaningful is title *ḥtmw nb nt pr-ḥd* in connection with the *pr-nswt*, since it stresses a physical relation between these two institutions: the treasury, *pr-ḥd*, and the *pr-nswt*-palace, already observed in some narrative sections from Middle Kingdom private inscriptions.

The treasury is described by biographical inscriptions as place where different kinds of facilities were conveying: clothing (*ḥbsw*), cushions (*šdtww*), supports (*stsw*), sandals (*tbwt*) anointed with myrrh, bags (*šrw*). According to graffito Hammamat G 61, all (is necessary) for the works of every charge of the *pr-nswt* come from the treasury (*m pr-ḥd*). If collection of supplies took place in the treasury, the administration and counting (*ḥp*)²⁵¹ of these resources was a *pr-nswt* responsibility.

<i>pr-ḥd + pr-nswt</i>				
<i>ḥrp n.ī ḥbsw r pr-ḥd iw ip m .ī m pr-nswt</i>	I delivered clothing to the treasury, the accounting being in my hands in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Mnt-wsrt</i> (Ses. I)	MMA 12.184	A.II.29
<i>šdtww stsw tbwt wrḥ m 'nw šrw nb n k3wt n i3wt nbt nt pr-nswt m pr-ḥd n nb 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Cushions, supports, sandals anointed with myrrh, bags, all (is necessary) for the works of every charge of the <i>pr-nswt</i> , from the treasury of the Lord, l. p. h.	<i>Wḥmw 'Imny</i> (Am. I – Ses. I.)	Hammamat G 61	A.II.22

The relation between the *pr-nswt* and the *pr-ḥd* is emphasized by the biographical inscriptions in Aswan tomb no. 36. Its owner *S3-rnpwt*, prince of Elephantine, has in charge the refurnishment of the *pr-nswt* with every requisite (*ḥt nbt*) among which ornaments (*ḥkrw*) and bread offerings (*'kw šḥws*) are listed. These items are all part of the furniture (*ḥ'w*)²⁵² of the *pr-nswt*, probably arrived here in the form of *b3kw* from foreign countries which is reported in an earlier section of the text (Aswan tomb 36, l. 5-6). *S3-rnpwt* has to check that the treasury is always full of the things asked to him. The connection of the treasury-house with the *pr-nswt* is highlighted by the context: refurnishment of the *pr-nswt* ensures that the treasury can be adequately filled with requested supply.

*(īsi) 'pr m ḥ'w pr-nswt
mnḥt m ḥt nbt mḥ m ḥkrw
'pr m 'kw šḥws m 3ḥt n.f nbt
nn di g3w.īr r dbḥt.ī pr-ḥd m dbḥt.ī*

It being provided with furniture of the *pr-nswt*, adorned with very requisite, filled with ornaments, provided with bread-offerings, fitted out with all that was benefiting to it. I was not allowed to lack what is required, the treasure-house was (the place) whence those things were asked for me.

²⁵¹ FCD: 16.

²⁵² FCD: 186.

Word *i3t/wpwt*, “office” or *h3w*, “affairs” can be linked to *pr-nswt* and suggests the execution of various activities in the *pr-nswt* without specifying their nature.

<i>i3t/wpwt + pr-nswt</i>				
<i>iml.n.i ph i3wt msw nbw wpwt m pr-nswt</i>	I was granted to reach old age with my children holding office in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>'Intf</i> (Ses. I)	BM 572	A.II.40
<i>msi '3wt m i3t nbt nt pr-nswt</i>	Born (between) the greats in the office of everything is in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>'k'-ib</i> (Ses. I)	Hammamat 123	A.II.27
<i>hnty i3wt m pr-nswt</i>	Foremost of offices in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>'In-it.f</i> (Men. II)	MMA 57.95	A.II.2
<i>htmw nb nt pr-hd i3t nbt nt pr-nswt</i>	Sealer of all what is in the <i>pr-hd</i> , office of everything is in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	? (Men. IV)	Hammamat 113	A.II.10

<i>iw h3w nb n pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb 'd wd3</i>	All the affairs of the <i>pr-nswt</i> are safe and prosper	? (Ses. III)	pBM 10752 (pRamesseum C)	A.II.57
<i>h3w nb n pr-nswt ('d wd3)</i>	All the concerns of the <i>pr-nswt</i> (are safe and well)	? (M.K.)	Buhen	A.II.162

The *pr-nswt* seems to have been the location for delivery of reports from Egyptian provinces (pBerlin 10470 - A.II.118). It contains the petition regarding the possession of a slave girl named *Snbt* presented by *'Itf.f-snb*, who bore the incomplete title of *hri n tm* (master of the..). The she-slave, ownership of people from the town of Elephantine, is requested by *'Itf.f-snb*'s Lord. The request is sent to the Reporter of Elephantine, bearing the name *Hh-ib*, while the role exerted by vizier *'Imn-m-h3t* consisted of getting a copy of the letter in his *h3 n t3ty*, “the office of the vizier”, probably connected with the *pr-nswt* of the previous line (l.6). According to this text, the *pr-nswt* seems to have worked as an administrative palatial section, where the *t3ty* carried out his tasks, such as that of receiving and reiterating reports from provinces of Egypt.²⁵³ This supposed function is confirmed by a later text inscribed in the tomb of *Rh-mi-R'*, *The Duties of the Vizier* (B.II.33).²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Smither 1948: 33.

²⁵⁴ See paragraph below: § 2.7.

A peculiar expression *īw n ḥm.n.ī nīwt r' sw3š m-' ḥrt mr rtnt pr-nswt*, “I take away from the city on the day of robberies away from the worth horror of the *pr-nswt*” appears twice in tomb inscription from Hatnub.

<i>īw n ḥm.n.ī nīwt r' sw3š m-' ḥrt mr rtnt pr-nswt</i>	I take away from the city on the day of robberies away from the worth horror of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>K3y</i> (Men. IV) <i>Dḥwty-nḥt V</i> (Am. I)	Hatnub 24 Hatnub 23	A.II.8 A.II.18
---	--	--	------------------------	-------------------

1.8 The term *hnw* in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

In the Papyrus Reisner II (A.I.15) discussed above, the royal dockyard workshops are said to be under the orders of the vizier, who is at this time resident in the North.²⁵⁵ He, named *'Inī-tf-kr*, appears in Papyrus Reisner II as the author of three administrative orders addressed to the stewards of the *pr-'3* (D1, E1, G1). His title in each case is *īmy-r nīwt, t3ty, īmy-r ḥwt '3t 'Inī-tf-kr*, “the overseer of the city, vizier, overseer of the great six chapels, *'Inī-tf-kr*”. According to the contents of the administrative orders in the papyrus, the vizier at this time was in the North, presumably at the recently founded royal residence Itjtawy, for he orders grain to be sent downstream to the *hnw*, where he will reckon it (E3-4):

<i>E I. 3) īr n.tn rdīt h'k.tw.tn '3'3.tw.tn š3(t).n.ī n.tw.tn ḥn' rdīt šḏī swt 150 (?) h'k gs ḥn'</i>	See that you shave yourselves and may you prepare according to every which I ordered to you, and send downstream 150 (?) <i>ḥk3t</i> of wheat,
<i>E I. 4) 2 (?) bš3 h'k ḥn' 10.000 (?) tr r hnw ḥr w' s im.tn nb mk īp.ī st r hnw</i>	double (?) <i>ḥk3t</i> malt and 10.000 (?) <i>tr</i> -loaves to the <i>hnw</i> for each one you. I shall reckon it at the <i>hnw</i> ²⁵⁶

The sending northward of grain from This to the *hnw*, where the vizier will reckon it, implies that the latter was the newly founded Itjtawy near Memphis and the vizier resided there.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Simpson 1965, II: 41.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 21, pl. 8.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II: 22.

The sending southward of craftsmen *r nīwt*, “to the city” (in B 16)²⁵⁸ must refer to Thebes, which was presumably under the general authority of the same vizier.²⁵⁹

The term *hnw* is mentioned in B 10, 11 and E 4 sections, in all the occurrences being accompanied by the city-sign determinative.

Section B contains a list of boat equipment received through the *imy-r hnwty*²⁶⁰ *S3-spdw*. Between these are listed:

- *dnhw nfrw rdī hnw*, “good quality acacia *dnhw* the *hnw* gives”. (Section B 10).²⁶¹
- *s3hw h’w nfr hnw*, “*s3hw*, amount, good quality of the *hnw*”. (Section B11).²⁶²

Another important source is the Papyrus Ramesseum III *verso* (A.I.19),²⁶³ one of the Papyrus from Thebes found by Quibell in 1896 under the later precincts of the Ramesseum in one of the late Middle Kingdom tombs. It consists of three columns of day-accounts concerning distribution of a variety of commodities such as oil, vegetables, leaves, flour and grain. It is not clear whether the accounts belong to a personal estate or to an official institution because among the beneficiaries of these distributions appear once the *hnw* (*‘kw .. dī r hnw*, “provisions to give to the *hnw*) and more times different households.²⁶⁴

References to the *hnw* can be found also in some papyrus from the town of Lahun, where it is clearly referred to the town of Itjtawy. Papyrus Berlin 10021 (A.II.156) is a kind of temple journal, the priest in charge of the temple being noted each date after the day, followed by any relevant events. For year 32, month 2 of flood, day 21, the note reads as follow:²⁶⁵

wd3 r hnw n ‘nh wd3 snb hft b3k sp tpy

Progress to the *hnw* in l. p. h. of oil one time (..)

The same expression *wd3 r hnw*, “progress to the *hnw*” appears in the fragment Berlin 10353b *verso*:²⁶⁶ *w]d3 r hnw [..]*

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II: 27.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: 22.

²⁶⁰ The title is extremely common in the Middle Kingdom. For a list of the available examples of the title *imy-r hnwty* see Gauthier 1918: 169 ff.

²⁶¹ Simpson 1965, II: 27, pl. 54.

²⁶² *Ibid.*: 27, pl. 54.

²⁶³ A transcription of the *verso* is given by Barns 1956: pl. 24-25 and one part is reproduced in photographs in Gardiner 1955: pl. 63-4.

²⁶⁴ The strongest indication that the account relates to a private estate is the expression *pr.ī*, “my house” contained in l. 82. Quirke 1990: 189.

²⁶⁵ Quirke 1999: 66.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: 66.

Papyrus from the Lahun Valley Temple pBerlin 10248 (A.II.196) records a despatch to the *hnw* regarding some royal victuals to be intended as by-product of festivals delivered to the *hnw* from the temple as required by the local “treasurer’s bureau”:²⁶⁷

<p>c. 2) [...] <i>r hnw m hrw pn hr</i></p> <p><i>’nh nsw[t] r h3 n imy-r htmt n mnht</i></p> <p><i>’Inpw tpy dw.f m Shm-Snwsrt m3’-hrw hn’ hnp-š</i></p>	<p>[Despatch] to the <i>hnw</i> on this day bearing the royal victuals [..]</p> <p>with reference to the bureau of the Cloth-festival of Anubis upon his mountain in <i>Shm-Snwsrt</i> true-of-voice as well as for the Sand-festival.</p>
---	--

It is likely that all these papyri from Lahun would have recorded the journey of the king to the *hnw* as “the residence” of Itjtawy.

In S 14 of Papyrus Boulaq 18 (A.I.17) the *hnw* is mentioned once, but this occurrence is obscured by the loss of the context of its citation. According to Quirke, this mention implies a visit to or from *’Itj-t3wy* made by the official in question, the *smsw h3yt Nb-sw-mnw*.²⁶⁸

Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 (A.I.18) contains seven texts of varying length and scope concerning Thebes and its administration. Two texts on the *recto* of the papyrus are a pair of copies of royal decrees addressed to the vizier *’nhw*, that may be dated to the reign of Sobekhotep III;²⁶⁹ they seem from their contents to have been sent from the *hnw* of *’Itj-t3wy* to Thebes.²⁷⁰ Both the decrees concern petitions made to the king by officials at the *hnw*; the contents of the petitions are highly problematic, obscured by lacunae and indecipherable ligatures; the transcription proposed in the catalogue follows that presented by Quirke based on the works of Hayes, Posener and Helck.²⁷¹

The final part of the first petition (text 3 in Hayes’ publication²⁷²) records the request to bring a man, the *hm-nswt* “royal servant”, to the *hnw* for questioning. The reason of the enquiry lies in the *tkk* “transgression” of which the servant is said to be guilty.

The second decree (text 4, “Insertion C” in Hayes’ publication²⁷³) follows the model of the first, concerning again a petition to the king from a courtier. The petitioner seems to

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: 67.

²⁶⁸ Quirke 1990: 108.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*: 141.

²⁷⁰ If the restoration of the first heading of the first decree is accepted, both documents were brought to the *h3 n whmw n niwt rst*, “bureau of the reporter of the Southern City”: Quirke 1990: 141.

²⁷¹ Quirke 1990: 143.

²⁷² Hayes 1955: 16-7.

complain that he has lost people during some activity and he asks for replacements; staff of the bureau of the people's giving seems to be responsible for a *t3wt (?)* in which the petitioner claims to have lost personnel, *s3hw*. The *hnw* is cited in relation to the bureau of people giving, the *h3 n dd rmt*.

The *'kw*, a word that functions as the generic term for "provisions",²⁷⁴ including several produces to be brought to the palace area, can be linked to the term *hnw*. In pBM 10756 and JE 51911 the *'kw* are mentioned as commodities to be delivered to the *hnw*. Particularly in the 13th Dynasty stele JE 51911, the *'kw* takes the shape of the *inw*, which the vizier had to deliver from his office *h3 t3ty*, "the office of the vizier". *'kw* would seem to consist of provisions to be brought from Thebes, where both sources have been found and the *h3 t3ty* was probably located,²⁷⁵ to the *hnw*, probably to be identified with the actual capital Itjtawy.

<i>'kw + hnw</i>				
<i>'kw (?) snw n T3-mrī dī n hnw</i>	2 provisions (?) of Egypt to be given to the <i>hnw</i>	13 th Dyn.	pBM 10756	A.I.19
<i>'kw hntw h3 t3ty inw r hnw ddwt</i>	Provisions of racks of water pots of the office of the vizier, <i>inw</i> (to be brought) to the <i>hnw</i>	Sobekhotep IV	JE 51911	A.I.14

The term most frequently used in literary texts of the Middle Kingdom is *hnw*, which is virtually unused in the private biographies and titles.

In Papyrus Westcar (A.III.6) prince *Dd.f-Hr*, one of Cheops' sons, offers a wonder performed by a contemporary commoner, *Ddī*, who tells the king three different tales. After having sailed northwards, *Ddī* and the prince arrive to the *hnw*, where *Dd.f-Hr* reports (*dī.f*) to king Cheops as follows:

8,6-7) *īwt pw īr.n Ddī m-hd m wsh nty s3 nswt Dd.f-Hr īm.f hr-m-ht spr.f r hnw 'k pw īr.n s3 nswt Dd.f-Hr r smi(t) n hm n nswt-bity Hwf m3'-hrw*

Ddī then came northwards in the barge in which prince *Dd.f-Hr* was. After he had reached the *hnw*, Prince *Dd.f-Hr* entered into report to the majesty of king Cheops, justified

²⁷³ *Ibid.*: 16-7.

²⁷⁴ GEG: 558. Wb I: 232. FCD: 50.

²⁷⁵ See pBrooklyn 35.1446 (A.I.18) where the *h3 t3ty* is located in the *nīwt rst*, "in the Southern city".

Cheops, after having asked to his son to bring him *Ddi*, proceeds to the “great hall” of the *pr-ʿ3* l. p. h. (*w3hy n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb*). After having listened to *Ddi*’s tales and prophecy, king Cheops proceeds to his *ʿh* (*hm.f r ʿh.f*) and here he orders to assign him to the house of prince *Dd.f-Hr*. According to the sequence of characters’ movements, after having arrived to the *hnw*, “commoner” *Ddi* is received in the *w3hy* of the *pr-ʿ3*. After having listened to *Ddi*’s speech, king Cheops goes to his *ʿh*. In this text *hnw*, *pr-ʿ3* and *ʿh* are all used in really close sentences, in contexts different from time to time. The wider palatial entity would seem the *hnw*, here described as the destination of a sea-trip. The *pr-ʿ3* instead is presented as a part of the *hnw*, probably to be intended as a royal building inside the *hnw*, while the *ʿh* might be intended as a specific section of the *pr-ʿ3*.

The Instructions of King Amenemhat I for his son Sesostri I (A.III.2) refer to the palace in connection with the problem of rebels’ punishment.²⁷⁶ In his Teaching, Amenemhat appears to his son in a dream and tells him of an attempted assassination which caused his death. The conspiracy seems to have originated in the royal harim, in the *hnw* of Itjtawy, the new residence-city of Amenemhat I.²⁷⁷ The sentence in stanza M 2.8 *in iw šdi tw hnnw m hnw*, “are rebel took out from the *hnw*?” refers to the *hnw* as the place where the rebels acted and they would be punished.

In the Instruction to King Merikare (A.III.3) the word *hnw* is used in exceptional contexts where it expresses a group of people affiliated with its place more than the location itself. The Instructions advice a king to banish the rebels but not his dependants. The Youth, cited in a previous section of the text²⁷⁸ seems to be a paramilitary company suitable for this purpose. In P. 57 the king ensures that the Youth is happy to perform his military service against rioters and that the *hnw* will love it (*mri tw*), as if it would be a physical body.

P 57) *tsi d3mw.k mri tw hnw*

Raise your Youths, the *hnw* will love you

The injunction in P. 71/2 to deal well with the South leads to an ancestral prophecy. They who said to behave like it are the royal ancestors of the *hnw* who foretold it. Given the

²⁷⁶ Volten 1945: 104-128.

²⁷⁷ The stanza M 2.7 referring to the troops, which worked as bodyguard of the king, mentions women, suggesting that the consiparcy took place in the royal harim. Parkinson 1996: 210, note 14.

²⁷⁸ See P. 7, in Parkinson 1996: 228, note 7.

association with verb *sr*, “foretell”, the *hnw* is again presented as a group of people more than as physical place.

P 71/2) iw.k rh tw sr n hnw r.s

You know what *hnw* foretold about it

The stanza in section 101 urges the new king to protect kingdom’s northern borders and to maintain the prosperity of the ancient city of *Dswt*, which protected Heracleopolis and secured access to the Delta.

P 101) Wddw swt m db'iw sr(w) m.s dr rk r hnw

The region of Memphis with 10.000 men, officials are in it since the time it was a *hnw*

Wddw swt is a name for Memphis, derived from the name of the Old Kingdom pyramid near Saqqara.²⁷⁹ The time of the *hnw* is the Old Kingdom, when Memphis was the *hnw* itself, intended here as the royal residence-city.

The Admonitions of Ipuwer (A.III.8) consist of the speeches of a sage named Ipuwer to a generic king in the presence of the royal court. Describing the chaos and disorder in which the actual Egyptian society pours, section 2,10-11 of the text states that while everything else is violently destroyed, the royal palace is not and keeps itself in safe.

2.10) *iw-ms sbhwt wh3w driwt 3mm*

Portals, pillars and walls are burning;

2.11) *drwt pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb mn rwd*

the chamber of the *pr-nswt* stands firm and enduring

While the walls (*driwt*) are burning, the royal chamber (*nswt drwt*) is unaffected: the different orthographies of the two terms and the specification of the second suggest a contrast between the two words and different meanings. Other attestations do not offer a specific translation of *driwt* and *drwt*, the sense of the phrase being conceivable only by the context:²⁸⁰ while the private *driwt* (walls) are being destroyed, together with *sbhwt* (portals) and *wh3w* (pillars),²⁸¹ the royal *drwt* (the royal chamber) is safe.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*: 233, note 39.

²⁸⁰ For a possible translation of the term as “door” or “wall” see Enmarch 2005: 79-80.

²⁸¹ For *sbhwt wh3w* as architectural terms see Spencer 1984: 168, 247.

Section 3,10-11 establishes a link between the ‘*h*’-palace and *kmw(t)*, this concept being identified with *kmt*, “the account to be delivered each day” which occurs in 13th Dynasty palace accounts.²⁸²

3, 10-12) *iw-ms 3bw tny [sp3w]t(?) šm’wt n b3k n [h3]’yt hḏ w’h ḏb’t irtiw m3’w nwt št3w k3t-hmww d3[rt (?) kmw(t)-’h iw pr-hḏ r-m m-hmt b3kw.f*

Elephantine, Thinis, the Upper Egyptian nomes have not paid tax because of the [strife]. Destroyed are grain, kohl, *irti*-fruit, is the profit (?), maat sticks nut sticks, shrub wood, and the work of the craftsmen, colocynth, fenugreek, and the profits of the ‘*h*’
What is a treasury for without its taxes?

The profits of the palace are destroyed because of lack of external foreign trade and disruption of revenues after the internal strife. The ‘*h*’ is exceptionally connected to *pr-hḏ*, the economic department of the central administration cited in the next sentence.²⁸³ The *pr-hḏ* is the place arranged to receive *b3kw*,²⁸⁴ term used both for general payment or delivery and for regular taxes from within and outside Egypt.²⁸⁵

In section 7.6-7 the term for palace changes again:

7.6-7) *mnt hnw hr snd m’ g3wt nb(w).i r wd(t) h3yt nn hsf-’*

Look, the *hnw* is fearful from want. But My Lord will stir up strife unopposed.

The lack of *g3wt*²⁸⁶ (“resources”) arriving at the central administration causes fearfulness (*snd*) to the *hnw*. This is a quality that normally inspires a person²⁸⁷ so that the phrase presents the *hnw* as a group of people more than as architectural entity. According to the second verse of the phrase, the king is stirring up the strife that ultimately is causing his *hnw* to suffer shortage.²⁸⁸ The phrase *hḏw hftiw nw hnw [pf] šps*, “destroy the enemies of [that] fine *hnw*” is preserved six times. The enemies whose destruction is ordered would be the forces spreading chaos throughout Egypt. The mention of *hpw*²⁸⁹ (“laws”), *h3w*²⁹⁰

²⁸² Enmarch 2005: 91.

²⁸³ Helck 1958: 180; Van de Boorn 1989: 361. Quirke 1990: 68.

²⁸⁴ Wb I: 91.

²⁸⁵ For the use of the term *b3kw* in Egyptian texts see Bleiberg 1981: 107 ff. and Bleiberg 1988: 157 ff. The evidence obtained by comparing the use of word *b3k* and *inw* in the Annals of Thutmose I makes Bleiberg suggests that *b3k* represents goods which are part of the redistributive economy, while *inw* represents the personal holdings which were never converted to rations.

²⁸⁶ Wb V: 153. FCD: 288.

²⁸⁷ *Snd* is the quality that the king normally inspires in his enemies. Blumenthal 1970: 208.

²⁸⁸ Enmarch 2005: 132.

²⁸⁹ Wb II: 488. FCD: 158.

²⁹⁰ Wb II: 221. FCD 183.

(“offices”) and *ḳnbt*²⁹¹ (“court”) in this group of strophes suggests that the *ḥnw* is here evoked generally as the central administration.²⁹² The *sbḳ ḳnbt*, the “splendid²⁹³ of council”, is probably meant here in the general sense of court officials, comparable to the *ḳnbt nt ḥnw*, “the council of the *ḥnw*” in the inscription of monarch *ʾlmm-m-ḥ3t* stating that he was *mry ḳbnt nt ḥnw*, “beloved of the *ḥnw*” (A.II.43). The *ḥ3w*, “offices” can be intended as departments with different functions of the *ḥnw* as central government.

Some peculiar expressions refer to different spaces such as the *pryt-nswt*, “estates of the king”, and the *šnʾsrw*, “storehouses of the officials”, which might be intended as specific sectors of a wider institution like the *ḥnw*.

In the tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor (A.III.7),²⁹⁴ a high official is returning from a failed expedition for he is fearful on the reception awaiting him at court. One of his attendants exhorts him to take courage and tells him a marvelous adventure that happened to him years ago as an example of how a disaster may turn into a success.²⁹⁵

<p><i>l. 167-9) ʾḥʾn dd.n.f n. i m-ʾ tw r spr r ḥnw n 3bd</i> <i>2 m.k ḳnḳ.k m ḥrdw.k rnpḳ.k m ḥnw ḳrs(t).k</i></p>	<p>He said to me: “You will reach the <i>ḥnw</i> in two months, you will embrace your children, you will flourish at the <i>ḥnw</i>, you will be buried.</p>
--	--

He ensures the protagonist about his return to the *ḥnw* where he will be buried. The theme is the same one found in Sinuhe’s homecoming below. In narrating his return, the attendant says to have sailed northwards, towards the *ḥnw*:

<p><i>l. 172-5) ḥdḳ r ḥnw n ity spr.n.n r ḥnw ḥr 3bd 2 mḳ</i> <i>ddt.n.f nbt ʾḥʾn ʾḳ.kwḳ ḥr itym ms.n.i n.g inw pn</i> <i>inḳ.n.i m ḥnw n t3 pn ʾḥʾn ntr i3w.n.f n.i ḥt.f ḥr</i> <i>ḳnbwt t3 r dr.f</i></p>	<p>We sailed north to the <i>ḥnw</i> of the king. We reached the <i>ḥnw</i> in two months, all he has said. I went in to the king. I presented him the gifts I had brought for the <i>ḥnw</i> from that island. He praised god for me in the presence of the councilors of the whole land.</p>
--	--

Here he was brought in front of the king, to whom he presented the *inw* collected during his journey to *Pwnt*. The *ḥnw* as a landing-place after a ship-travel is the same in Papyrus

²⁹¹ The word *ḳnbt* was used from the early Middle Kingdom to refer to a group of magistrates in a general sense and more specifically to the law court. FCD: 280; GEG: 214; Wb V: 53-4. For a list of Middle Kingdom titles compound with the word *ḳnbt* see Doxey 1998: 165 ff.

²⁹² Enmarch 2005: 167.

²⁹³ *sbḳ* = “splendid, precious, fortunate”, in Wb IV, 94.2-12.

²⁹⁴ For a study of the Shipwrecked Sailor as a textual and historical source see Rendsburg 2000 and Baines 1990.

²⁹⁵ Lichtheim 1973-1980, I: 211.

Westcar (A.III.6), in the section describing prince *Dd.f-Hr*'s return to home, and the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5).

The Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5) begins as a funerary autobiography listing the titles held by Sinuhe; he defines himself as a palace servant (*b3k n ipt nswt*, "servant of the royal chamber") and states to have worked at *Hnmw-swt* and *K3-nfrw*, the cultic enclosures attached to the pyramids of Sesostri I and Amenemhat I respectively near modern el-Lisht.²⁹⁶ When in the second half of the stanza the *hnw* is cited, it probably refers to the place of the capital of the 12th Dynasty, Itjtawy, near el-Lisht. Here the *hnw* is described in silence and the death of Amenemhat is marked by the closing of the great portal (*rwty wrty*) of the *hnw*.²⁹⁷

R 8-9) iw hnw m sgr ibw m gmw mrw rwty wrty htmw The *hnw* was in silence, hearts were in pain, the great double gates were sealed

In the second stanza Sinuhe describes his escape from the court and his travel to the South. Here text refers again to the *hnw* as a place where Sinuhe did not want to approach, probably anticipating the Palestinian city that he will reach at the end of several movements over two days, *Rtnw*.²⁹⁸

R 29-30) irt.i smt m hntyt n k3.i spr r hnw pn I did my way southwards. I did not think to reach this *hnw*

In the second part of the tale, narrative gives way to the discourse between Sinuhe and 'Imn-n-š', king of *Rtnw*, who asks why he has come by him and whether the Egyptian *hnw* is stable.

B 35) hn' dd.n.f n.i ph.n.k nn hr šs in iw wn hprt m hnw Then he said to me, "Why did you come here? Has anything happened in the *hnw*?"

'Imn-n-š' now develops his question on King Amenemhat and Sinuhe replays with an eulogy of the new king, stating that he is the equal of the old. In this case the chosen term for the royal palace changes: the 'h - and not the *hnw* - is the place where Amenemhat has entered

²⁹⁶ Parkinson 1997: 43, note 1.

²⁹⁷ In the Middle Kingdom the term *rwt* starts to appear in the dual form *rwty*, with the addition of the dual adjective *wrrty* to describe an important entrance to a palace or a temple. For an overview of the occurrences of the term in texts see Spencer 1984: 215 ff.

²⁹⁸ FCD: 154. Gardiner 1947, I: 142.

(*ḳ r ḥ*) and has probably been crowned. The *hnw* *ḥ* is also the place where Sesostriś was together with Amenemhat.

In section D describing Sinuhe's permanence at *Rtnw*, the protagonist recounts his rise over a long time period, during which he retains indirect contacts with the Egyptian court: he says that every messenger who went from and to the *hnw* (Itjtawy ?) would tarry for him.

B 94-95) whyt.f wp(w)ty ḥdd ḥnty(w) r hnw 3b.f ḥr.i And any envoy on his way to or from the *hnw*, he stopped by me

He goes on contrasting his present state with the actions of other fugitives and distances himself from them. The self-celebration contains a reference to the *hnw*, in order to establish a distance between Sinuhe's foreign dwelling place and the Egyptian residence.

B 149-150) w'r w'r(w) n h3w.f iw mtr.i m hnw The fugitive flees from his surrounding, but my right place is the *hnw*

This suggests the self-contradictory nature of Sinuhe's happiness, which he gradually realizes as he proclaims it.²⁹⁹

B 156-7) ntr nb š3(w) w'rt tn ḥtp.k di.k wi r hnw Whatever god fated this flight, be gracious and bring me back to the *hnw*

Returning to Egypt Sinuhe will be able to see again the *hnw*, described as the place where he grew up. A reference to the *rwty wrwty* of the *hnw*, such as that described at the starting section of the tale, is repeated here.

B 188) ir n.k iwt r Kmt m33k hnw ḥpr.n.k im.f sn.k t3 r rwty wrwty Prepare your return to Egypt that you may see the *hnw* where you born, kiss the earth of the double gates

Sinuhe explicitly acknowledges that his place is the *hnw* and states that king's power extends over the horizon.

B 233) m' wi m hnw m st.tn nt.k is ḥbs 3ḥt nt Whether I am in the *hnw*, whether I am in this place,
It is you who veils this horizon of mine.

²⁹⁹ Parkinson 1997: 47, note 39.

At the end of the last part of the tale Sinuhe arrives at the *Ways of Horus*, the royal road leading from Egypt's border at Sile to the north-east.³⁰⁰ The commander is the first of a series of intermediaries who carry Sinuhe in front of the king; he sends a message to the *hnw* to announce Sinuhe's arrival.

B 241) *iw pw ir.n b3k im m hnti*

This humble servant then came southwards, and I halted the Ways of Horus.

B 242) *hdb.i Hr hr w3t gmh tsw nty m-s3 phrt*

The commander who was in charge of the garrison

B 243) *h3b.f ipwt r hnw r rdit rh.tw (..)*

he sent a message to the *hnw* to inform them

The title of an official, the *imy-r sktyw*, the “overseer of foragers”, who has to bear royal giving to the Syrians who hosted Sinuhe is linked to another palace term: *pr-nswt*. In the Tale of Sinuhe the term *hnw* is often used referring to a place from and to where the protagonist escapes and goes back. The voyage to the *hnw* is a trip to Itytawy, the royal capital of the 12th Dynasty.

1.9 Titles and epithets compound with term *hnw*

Epithets compound with *hnw* are very rare in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions. The word is most frequently used in narrative contexts, such as private autobiographies and literary texts, which describe the arrival or return of the inscription owner at the *hnw*. Generic epithets referring to the *hnw* are those composed by simple expressions such as: *nfr m hnw*, “beautiful in the *hnw*”, *smr r hnw*, “companion of the *hnw*”, or *imy-r hnw*, “overseer of the *hnw*”, often resulting from a wrong writing of the most common title *imy-r 'hnwty*.³⁰¹ Inscription in the tomb of Beni Hasan no. 2 offers an interesting exception since it establishes a connection of the term *kbnt* with the *hnw*: *mry kbnt nt hnw*, “beloved of the *kbnt* in the *hnw*”. The term *kbnt* was used from the Middle Kingdom onwards to refer to a group of magistrates and it is generally translated as “court”.³⁰² Epithets connecting the *kbnt* to the king or the *hnw* show the relation of this court with the palace and specifically with its *hnw*-shape.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Parkinson 1994: 51, note 67.

³⁰¹ Gardiner 1947: 44 ff.

³⁰² Wb V, 53-54. FCD: 280.

³⁰³ For a complete analysis of Middle Kingdom epithets referring to the *kbnt* see Doxey 1998: 165.

Generic titles compound with <i>hnw</i>				
<i>imy-r hnw</i>	Overseer of the <i>hnw</i>	<i>Rmn-ḥ'nh</i> (12 th Dyn.)	CG 20748	A.II.106
<i>mrwt.ḥ nb.ḥ m hnw d3d3t (?) pr</i>	I was loved by My Lord in the <i>hnw</i> of the house of the magistrates (?)	<i>Ntr-ḥtp</i> (11 th Dyn. ?)	Hatnub 14	A.II.11
<i>mry kbnt nt hnw</i>	Beloved of the <i>kbnt</i> of the <i>hnw</i>	<i>'Imn-m-ḥ3t</i> (Ses. I-Am. II)	Beni Hasan 2	A.II.42
<i>nfr m hnw ḥ3w</i>	Beautiful of the <i>hnw</i> of the office	<i>'Intf</i> (Ses. I)	BM 197 [581]	A.II.33
<i>smr r hnw</i>	Companion of the <i>hnw</i>	<i>'Inḥ-nt-mn-tw-gb</i> (12 th Dyn.)	CG 20712	A.II.97

hnw appears often in sentences compound with verbs of motion that involve a shift to this institution. The usage of the word in stele MMA 35.7.55 (A.II.132) of *Ḥr-nḥ-ḥ'.f* from Hieraconpolis, dated to the last decades of the 13th Dynasty,³⁰⁴ needs some consideration. According to this inscription, the king was in the residence at Itjtawy and *Ḥr-nḥ-ḥ'.f* was ordered to the *hnw*, which must be identified with Itjtawy itself. Such information provided by the stele fits well with the viewpoint now held by modern scholars in regard to the 13th Dynasty that its kings continued to use this city as residence capital.³⁰⁵ The trip to Itjtawy is described as one of the highest point of the Upper Egyptian priest *Ḥr-nḥ-ḥ'.f*, who received order from the capital that new temple images (the images of Horus of Nekhen and his mother Isis) were ready for delivery or that the old ones, having served their purpose at coronation or other festival, might now be taken home. In line 6 of the stele it is Horus who orders *Ḥr-nḥ-ḥ'.f* to the *hnw* to bring back these images, statues probably made at Itjtawy for the temple at Nekhen.

Motion verbs + <i>hnw</i>				
<i>'h'.n.ḥ ḥdḥ wḥ ḥr ḥs m s 6 n hnw</i>	I came downstream in attendance among 6 men of the <i>hnw</i>	<i>Sbk-ḥw-rn-f-nfr</i> (Ses. III)	mManch 3306	A.II.58
<i>ist.ḥ m ḥdḥ.ḥ r nd ḥrt hnw</i>	I had gone north to offer salutations at the <i>hnw</i>	<i>Wp-w3wt-ḥ3</i> (Ses. I-Am. II)	GL WAF 35	A.II.41
<i>ḥdḥ.n.ḥ ḥntḥ.n.ḥ hnw</i>	I fared downstream and I sailed upstream to the <i>hnw</i>	<i>Wp-w3wt-ḥ3</i> (Ses. I)	Leiden 5 (V 4)	A.II.24

³⁰⁴ Hayes 1947: 10.

³⁰⁵ Callender 2000: 149 ff.

Several titles in private inscriptions refer to different sections or bureau of the administration, without indicating their recipient, which could be indifferently the palace or the temple or other wealthy estates.³⁰⁶ Despite being related to administrative and economic functions of the state, many of these sectors might have been located within the palace itself, but a grammatical association between such terms and the words for palace are very uncommon. In order to understand which one of these sectors, the *pr-ḥd*, “treasury”, the *ḥ3 n t3ty*, “the bureau of the vizier”, the *k3p*, “inner palace” or the *ḥnty*, “outer palace”, were physically connected to the palace-building, it might be useful an analysis of the associations between different titles in private inscriptions. Such an analysis aims to verify whether titles compound with one of the words for palace and those referring to specific administrative sections belonged to the same holder. A study like this cannot be exhausted in the present study, since it requires a separate complex study of the career of each titles owner. Those below are just few examples of the type of study which would be useful to the purpose of this work.

- The *imy-r ip3t nswt*, “overseer of the private rooms of the king”, *ḥ3-nḥt*, owner of the Tomb no. 8 at el-Bersheh, was operative in the *ḥ*, being defined *rḥ sšm n ḥ*, “one who knows the business in the *ḥ*” (A.II.14). *ḥy*, *imy-r ip3t nswt*, “overseer of the private rooms of the king”, is the owner of a tomb at Saqqara where several titles are listed together, some related to the political sphere and others to the religious one: several expression reconnect his activity to the *pr-nswt* (A.II.21).
- Title *imy-r ḥnwty wr n pr-ḥd*, “chief interior-overseer to the treasury” appears in stele Leiden 52 of *s3-rrt* together with *iry ḥt ny pr-3* (A.II.132).
- In BM 146 [574] (A.II.45), the title of Semty the younger *imy-ḥnt*, “chamberlain”, appears together with the expression *m db3w m shḥt Ḥr nb ḥ*, “at the crowing at the appearance of Horus, Lord of the palace.”

³⁰⁶ Quirke 2004: 16.

1.10 The term *stp-s3* in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

The most significance change after the Old Kingdom³⁰⁷ in the usage of *stp-s3* is the appearance of the *pr*-sign as determinative of the word from the early 12th Dynasty.³⁰⁸ The inclusion of the determinative in the word is attested for the first time around the beginning of the 12th Dynasty, during the reign of Amenemhat I and Sesostri I, in inscriptions such as Beni Hasan 2 (A.II.42),³⁰⁹ Durham N1935 (A.II.50)³¹⁰ or pBerlin 3029 (A.I.5).³¹¹ Another important difference in the orthography is the addition of the phrase *'nh wd3 snb*, "life prosperity and health"³¹² (see pBerlin 3029 - A.I.5). According to the analysis of Old Kingdom occurrences proposed by Goelet, the question is whether the term *stp-s3* as "palace" is really a post Old Kingdom development. In Goelet's opinion, the word would have begun to indicate a specific type of building only from the Middle Kingdom onwards, with the appearance of the *pr*-sign and the *'nh wd3 snb* expression.³¹³

People called *smrw nswt*, "companions of he king", are connected with the *stp-s3* in stele for Wadi el-Hudi Berlin 1203 (A.II.46), where they are involved together with the king in some manner of royal council where affairs of the state were discussed.

ii.n(.i) r ḥsmn n ḥm.f ḥn-'sr n smrw nswt n stp-s3 mdww n.f m t3 pn

I came for amethyst, on behalf of His Majesty, together with a dignitary of the companions of the king belonging to the *stp-s3*, who had been spoken to him in this expedition.

In stele BM 193 [566] *Ddw-Sbk* (A.II.111), "foremost of position of the *stp-s3*", enters in the privacy of the *stp-s3* to hear the words (*sḏm mdww*) of the chiefs in the presence of the king.

ph.f w'wt ḥnt st m stp-s3 hrw m sḏm mdw w' ḥryw m b3ḥ nb t3wy

He enters in the privacy, foremost of position in the *stp-s3*, during the day to hear the unique word of the chiefs in the presence of the Lord of the two lands.

³⁰⁷ Goelet 1986: 85.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*: 95.

³⁰⁹ Newberry 1983: pl. 8

³¹⁰ el-Sayed 1977: 171, pl. 16

³¹¹ de Buck 1938: 49, l. 2-3. Goedicke 1974: 90e

³¹² Wb I 196: 10-7.

³¹³ Goelet 1986: 96.

An official counsel, which took place in the *stp-s3*, was described in the Berlin Leather Roll pBerlin 3029 (A.I.5):

d3dw ndnd imyw-ht.f smrw nw spt-s3 'nh wd3 snb A session took place in the *d3dw*. One took counsel with his followers, the companions of the *spt-s3*, l. p. h.

According to this text, Sesostri I ordered the companions of the *stp-s3* to assemble to announce his decision to build a temple.

The vizier *'Intf-ikr* records on a stele at the port of Wadi Gawasis that Sesostri I commanded him to build boats to be sent to *Pwnt* and he states that he “completed his task” (literally: “I acted magnificently) according to what had been commanded to him in the “majesty of the *stp-s3*”,³¹⁴ *wdt n.f m hm n stp-s3*.³¹⁵

The unique example of *stp-s3* in the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5) is in the passage containing Sinuhe’s reply to the king.³¹⁶ In this section of the text Sinuhe praises the king and speaks of his return to Egypt. The king uses his perception to have knowledge of Sinuhe’s exile and his desire to return.

B 214) (..) *nb si3 si3(w) rh(y)t si3.f* The Lord of discernment, who perceives the
B 215) *m hm n stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb wnt b3k im* people, discerned in the majesty of the *stp-s3*, l. p.
snd(w) dd (..) h., what the servant who I am was afraid to say.

1.11 The term *stp-s3* in titles and epithets

The use of *stp-s3* in Middle Kingdom texts is preponderant in epithets rather than in narrative texts. Particularly recurrent are those cases in which *stp-s3* is connected in some manner with verb *hst*, “to praise”. Similar expressions are those involving *mrwt*, “love” that define the inscription owner as “beloved”, in the *stp-s3*. All such epithetical phrase can trace their origin back to the Old Kingdom.³¹⁷ Middle Kingdom examples suggest that the “praising”/“favoring” and the “loving” were done by the king (*hft hst nt hr nswt mrwt.f m stp-s3*, “according to the favor of the king [and] his love in the *stp-s3*” (in Beni Hasan 3 -

³¹⁴ For this translation see: Sayed 1977: 169.

³¹⁵ Shaw 2010: 181.

³¹⁶ Koch 1990: 65. Parkinson 1994: 50, note no. 57.

³¹⁷ Goelet 1986: 96.

A.II.51). The bestowal of king's approval may have occurred on specific occasions and have taken place before an audience consisting of the royal family and high officials.³¹⁸

Titles compound with verb <i>ḥsī</i> , "to praise"/"to favor" + <i>stp-s3</i>				
<i>wr ḥs(w)t.ī m stp-s3 r smr w'ī nb</i>	Great was my praise/favor in the <i>stp-s3</i> more than any courtier	<i>Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> (Am. II-Ses. II)	Beni Hasan 3	A.II.51
<i>mn ḥsw m stp-s3 ('nh wd3 snb)</i>	Firm of praises/favors in the <i>stp-s3</i> (l. p. h.)	<i>Rmn-ī-'nh</i> (12 th Dyn.)	CG 20748	A.II.123
<i>nb ḥswt m stp-s3</i>	Lord of the praises/favors in the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>Wr-nswt-īw-tnī</i> (M.K.)	CG 20476	A.II.157

The interpretation of the *stp-s3* as a form of councillor body to which court-officials might belong is suggested by occurrence of words such as *smrw* (companions) or *srw* (officials) in connection with this word.³¹⁹

Titles referred to the <i>stp-s3</i> as a form of councillor body				
<i>sr n smrw nswt n stp-s3</i>	Dignitary of the companions of the king belonging to the <i>stp-s3</i>	? (Am. II)	Berlin 1203	A.II.46
<i>ḥ3 nswt m3'.f srw nw stp-s3</i>	Exalting the king when he sees the officials of the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>Kms(w)</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 115	A.II.94
<i>tm thī tp-rd n 'h tpt-r n stp-s3</i>	One who does not disobey the instructions of the 'h or the utterance of the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>Kms(w)</i> (Am. III)	Durham N1935	A.II.50
<i>ḥ3 nswt m3'.f srw nw stp-s3</i>	Exalting the king when he sees the officials of the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>Kms(w)</i> (Am. III)	Sinai 115	A.II.94

If the association with verb *ḥsī*, "to praise/favor" suggests that the word *stp-s3* involved aspect of the palace that were ceremonial in the broadest sense of the word, later occurrences of the word exhibit a close connection with the decision making-progress.³²⁰ The association between *stp-s3* and royal decision-making is emphasized by

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*: 96.

³¹⁹ Shaw 2010: 181.

³²⁰ Goelet 1986: 97.

contemporary³²¹ and later expressions in narrative passages employing variants of the expressions *wddt m stp-s3*, “what was ordered in the *stp-s3*” or *dddt m stp-s3*, “what was said in the *stp-s3*”.³²²

1.12 Itjtawy and Thebes.

According to written sources the residence city of the 12th Dynasty was established by Amenemhat I³²³ (1985-1956 BC) at *'lt-t3wy*,³²⁴ probably north of the Faiyum near the modern Lisht.³²⁵ No site has been recovered in archaeology and the proper location of the city remains unknown. Poetic descriptions of the structure and form of its palace at the time of Sesostri I are contained in the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5).³²⁶ The 19th Dynasty Turin Canon refers twice to the pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty as “kings of the *hnw 'lt-t3wy*”, with word *hnw* used as apposition of the new residence-city.³²⁷

A significant element of the designation of *'lt-t3wy* is the enclosure-wall hieroglyphic sign in which it is written, this “fortress” being a regular element of the name in Middle kingdom and later hieroglyphic writing.³²⁸ The need to strength the region with a defensive system is stressed in the Prophecy of Neferty, a text which may have been composed at the beginning of the 12th Dynasty, referring to Amenemhat as “one who will build the Walls of the Prince to repel the Asiatics”.³²⁹

³²¹ See paragraph above: § 1.10.

³²² See paragraph below: § 2.10.

³²³ Private inscriptions on 12th Dynasty monuments report the name of the town composed with that of Amenemhat as subject of the verb *itj* in sentences like *'lmn-m-ḥ3t-it-t3wy* or *'lmn-m-ḥ3t-nḥ-dt-it-t3wy*, “Amenemhat - the seizer of - the two lands” or “in Amenemhat – alive forever - the seizer of - the two lands”. See Simpson 1963: pl. 1 referring to stele CG 20516 of year 30 of Amenemhat and year 10 of Sesostri I; Cairo CG 20515, stele of year 10 of Sesostri I; stele Los Angeles County Museum A5141.50-876 of Sesostri I's reign (in Faulkner 1952: pl. I); false door of the mastaba of *'li* at Saqqara, probably dated to the reign of Amenemhat III.

³²⁴ A list of occurrences of the term in the Middle Kingdom is provided in Gauthier 1925-31: I, 124; II, 167; III, 145; V, 224. Simpson 1963: 53. Wb I: 150, 6.

³²⁵ Helck 1958: 2. Stadelmann 2001: 14.

³²⁶ *t3w šbb(w) 'th(w) tp-m3'.i pht.i dmi n 'ltw ḥd.n rf dw3 sp 2 iw iw(w) i3š n.i 10 (n) s m iwt 10 (n) s m šmt hr st3.i r 'h dhn.n.i t3 im(y)t(w) šspw*, “The beer was filtered and kneaded at my side and I reached the town of *'ltw*. When the earth became light the second morning came to call me 10 men, 10 men came to accompany me later to the *'h*. (There) I touched the ground between the sphinx”. *'ltw* is used in the text as *it-t3wy*, in Guilloux 2005: 67, note 101.

³²⁷ Hayes 1953: 37. Gardiner 1959: V, 19; VI, 3.

³²⁸ The sign appears like the cartouche which encloses the royal name, in Simpson 1963: 58.

³²⁹ Posener 1956: 24-26. Shaw 2000: 158.

The identification suggested by Griffith³³⁰ and Scharff³³¹ of 13th Dynasty royal buildings near Dahshur, Lahun and Khaun³³² as residence cities is doubtful:³³³ it is likely that these towns were settlements for officials, priests and workmen connected with the construction and service of the king's tombs.³³⁴ The acropolis of the pyramid town of Illahun, the unique such community of the Middle Kingdom to have been excavated, is dominated by a large and spacious civil area and storage areas, which could easily have accommodated the king's household, court and administration for a period.³³⁵

From the time of Sesostri I a ritual palace named *Hpr-k3-R'-ptry-k3ww* may have located at Karnak.³³⁶ The existence of a royal residence at Thebes during the late Middle Kingdom is suggested by the 13th dynasty Papyrus Boulaq 18,³³⁷ an account text detailing deliveries and expenses incurred by the royal court on a trip away from its ordinary place of residence for a period of at least twenty-three days.³³⁸ The text is the piece of evidence most frequently cited in favor of Thebes as a 13th Dynasty capital of Egypt.³³⁹ In this papyrus the specific word used for "palace" is *pr-3* and Thebes is mentioned with the name of *Niwt Rst*, "Southern city".³⁴⁰ The presence of the court in the South City would have covered a period of not much more than a month and could be related to a specific occasion, like the festival of the great Montu, which fell within the period covered by the papyrus (XXXV, 1-2).³⁴¹ If a royal residence existed at Thebes during the 13th Dynasty it could have worked to host the king during his visits to Thebes and Karnak for ceremonial and religious occasions.³⁴² Since

³³⁰ Griffith 1898: 90.

³³¹ Scharff 1924a: 51 ff. Gunn 1945: 106 ff. The 'h' sign appears in two seal impressions from the Pyramid complex of Khaun, in Petrie 1891: Pl. 9, 10, 18.

³³² Petrie 1891: Pl. 14.

³³³ The existence of royal residences near the 12th Dynasty pyramids has been supposed on the basis of written sources reporting names identical to those of the pyramidal complexes but without the pyramid determinative, replaced by the city sign, in Griffith 1898: 88-90.

³³⁴ Hayes 1953: 37. Petrie 1891: 5-8.

³³⁵ Stadelmann 2001: 14.

³³⁶ Kees 1958a: 195. Hirsch 2009: 69 ff. Especially Otto (Otto 1952: 21), Kees (Kees 1958a: 195) and Nims (Nims 1955: 110-23) and most recently Stadelmann (Stadelmann 1996: 226) stated that *Hpr-k3-R'-ptry-k3ww* worked as ritual palace at the Temple of Amun.

³³⁷ Mariette 1871-76, II: 6 ff., Pl. 14-46. Griffith 1891: 102 ff. Borchardt, 1872: 65 ff. Scharff 1922: 51 ff.

³³⁸ Stadelmann 2001: 14. Hayes 1953: 36.

³³⁹ Helck 1958: 3-4. Hayes 1953: 36.

³⁴⁰ Mariette 1871-76, II: Pl. 29, 5; 43, 2-1.

³⁴¹ Hayes 1953: 36.

³⁴² According to Hayes, the proper royal residence and the seat of the pharaonic government stood at *'lt-t3wy* during the 13th Dynasty, in Hayes 1953: 31 ff.

this papyrus was found in Dra Abu el-Naga on the western side of Thebes, the palace was probably situated there, on the hillside in front of Dra Abu el-Naga or Taref.³⁴³

Occurrences of *'lt-t3wy* with references to worships, officials and bureau, glean some evidence of the fact that the city worked both as royal residence and the seat of the administration and the government.³⁴⁴ One of the main considerations is the extent to which the city has to be intended as the unique residence city or - using a modern concept - as “capital” in order to clarify the use of the term *hnw* in the Middle Kingdom. The just cited 13th dynasty Papyrus Boulaq and later documents such as the Tempest stele of Ahmose (B.I.2)³⁴⁵ and inscriptions recording the participation of Thutmose III and his successors to the Opet Feast in Thebes (B.I.4) show that pharaohs travelled extensively through the country with their entourage on tours of inspections or to officiate in various cultic ceremonies. The main Residence city or “capital” may have been from time to time the place where the king and high officials made their more-or-less permanent headquarters, necessitating an extensive complex of palaces, administrative buildings and storehouses.³⁴⁶ Instances in which the term *hnw* is used as specification of *'lt-t3wy*³⁴⁷ and those in which the name city is totally replaced by the term *hnw*,³⁴⁸ help in defining the meaning of *hnw* as “residence-city”. And it was probably in those cases where the place name itself would be necessary for the identification of a specific “residence” that it was used.³⁴⁹

1.12 Conclusions

Despite the attempt to restrict the analysis on Middle Kingdom sources, in order to understand the usage of terms for “palace” in this specific period, comparisons with later periods are unavoidable in order to plug the gaps in documentation.

³⁴³ Stadelmann 2001: 14. Quirke 2009: 119-30. For a more recent interpretation of the building as ritual palace see Hirsch 2009: 76.

³⁴⁴ Simpson 1963: 58.

³⁴⁵ Wiener - Allen 1998.

³⁴⁶ Martin 2000: 101.

³⁴⁷ Only one later reference makes explicit the identity of Itjtawy as *hnw*, the Turin Canon (col. V, 19).

³⁴⁸ Hayes 1953: 33-38.

³⁴⁹ Simpson 1963: 57.

Collected data have revealed that one of the major features of **the 'h** was its association with ceremonial occasions. The block with part of the Horus name of the king Amenemhat I from the palace of Tell Basta (A.I.2) may be considered the first example of connection of term 'h with the *Hb-sd* festival among sources considered in the present study.³⁵⁰ This block, carrying the expression *nswt 'h* is part of other stones with scenes in relief representing Amenemhat III at his jubilee festival. Below the sky-sign, the king is shown sitting on his throne in a kiosk, wearing jubilee robes and the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Horus and Seth are shown with human hands offering him symbols possibly signifying countless years of rule. Beneath the double kiosk there is a horizontal row of enigmatic signs. Above, outside the kiosk, there are the standards of Wepwawet of the North and South and below, on the right and left, god 'lwn-mwt-f is depicted wearing a leopard skin and bringing offerings and wishes for life, stability and welfare to the king. Two similar vertical lines of inscriptions recording the king's first *Sed*-festival occupy the right and left borders of the block. Old-Kingdom *Hb-sd* reliefs showed that the 'h was one of the most important construction to be built just before the performance of the ceremony.³⁵¹ Scenes from the first *Sed*-festival of Amenhotep III occurring in the 18th Dynasty Temple at Soleb³⁵² (B.I.17) refer to the 'h as one of the structures used during the celebration of the ceremonies, from and to where the King moves after having offered to different deities.³⁵³ The scenes of Amenhotep III's first *Sed*-festival in the south portico of *Hrw.f*'s tomb are an abbreviated illustration of the parts of the festival, probably restricted to those moments in which *Hrw.f* had an active role (B.II.80). Among the moments depicted in the tomb, there is the scene of the procession of the queen and king from "his 'h in the House of Rejoicing" ('h.f n pr-'h'y), where *Hrw.f* appears amongst the accompanying officials.³⁵⁴ For a detailed analysis of such scenes and the connection between the 'h and the *Hb-sd*, I refer to a dedicated chapter of the present work.³⁵⁵

The ceremonial functions of the 'h are rather broad in nature. They could consist of crowning (*db3w*)³⁵⁶ and enthroning (*h'w*)³⁵⁷ ceremonies (BM 146 [574] - A.II.45; UC 14333 - A.II.5) probably taking place on specific occasions, or appearances of the king probably

³⁵⁰ Farid 1964: 94, pl. 10.

³⁵¹ This is the only type of building that appears in Nyusera's reliefs in scenes representing the foundation rites preceding the festival, in Goelet 1982: 385.

³⁵² Giorgini 1998.

³⁵³ Gohary 1992: 11-5.

³⁵⁴ Fakhry 1943: 492.

³⁵⁵ See paragraph below: § 4.3.

³⁵⁶ FCD: 321.

³⁵⁷ Letterarily: *h'w*, "to appear in glory", FCD: 185.

related to most common situations. The royal appearance (*hꜥ*, “to appear in glory”) is often combined with word *ʿh*. It seems likely that the *d3d3wy* or *d3dw* was the specific place of the *ʿh* meant for the appearance of the king that may have occurred on frequent and rare occasions. According to the Building inscription of Sesostri I in Papyrus Berlin 3029 (A.I.5), the king made his appearance in the *d3dw*, ordering his officials an assembly (*hmst*) in this place to announce his intention to build a temple in Heliopolis. The *d3d3wy* or *d3dw* might be described as a room/hall of audience within the *ʿh*-palace with supposed ceremonial functions.

The ceremonial nature of term *ʿh* is also highlighted by the frequent connection of god figures with this institution. When the Pharaoh is mentioned within it, he often takes the divine form of Horus, being entitled *Hr nb ʿh*. References to the living king as personification of Horus can be found also in common private titles referring to the owner as *imy-ib Hr nb ʿh*, “favorite of Horus, Lord of the *ʿh*”. The association of other gods with the *ʿh*, released by Pharaoh’s personification, is a later phenomenon. The possible apposition of word *ntr* to the *ʿh* (*ʿh (n) ntr/w*) explains the occasional necessity to specify the royal ownership of the *ʿh* when the term is referred to a more secular building (inscription of Sesostri III at Medamud - A.I.10: *ʿh nswt bꜥty*, “*ʿh* of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt”; inscribed block from the palace of Tell Basta - A.I.2: *nswt ʿh*, “King of the *ʿh*”). The expression *ʿh (n) ntr/w* could be considered a later development of Archaic Period and Old Kingdom hieroglyph with the *ntr*-sign placed inside the *ʿh* itself.³⁵⁸ This form seems to be one of the complex elaborations of the basic *ʿh* together with those composed of hieroglyphs *hꜥ* and *hꜥp* (*ʿh-hꜥ* and *ʿh-hꜥp*). Each of these additional signs seem to reflect a different form of the *ʿh*. Specifically, the *ʿh-ntr* would have served as changing area or resting place for the king during certain ceremonies.³⁵⁹ Since such a place would also be connected to divinities like Nekhbet, Horus, Seth and Apis, perhaps it could serve as a shrine or temple for a god’s statue as well.³⁶⁰ It is the predominantly religious character that sets the word *ʿh* apart from other terms for palace.

Ceremonies of secular nature that would seem to have taken place in the *ʿh*, are those consisting of *inw*-delivery. Dispensation of this royal tax can be found also in other contexts where the *hnw* is the final destination. We can assume that the occasion of delivery was different. *Hnw* would have been the place where the *inw* was generally destined to be

³⁵⁸ Goelet 1982: 213.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: 400.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*: 401.

received by the king in his residence-city, and the 'h would have been the place where it was delivered on the occasion of official ceremonies.

The Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5) refers to the presence of the queen (*hnwt*) and the royal children (*nswt msw*) in the 'h-palace in those passages where Sinuhe expresses his wishes to go back to Egypt and his expectation to work again for them. The presence of women in the 'h is mentioned even in Papyrus Westcar (A.III.6) in those sections where the lector-priest answers Snefru to proceed to the lake (*š*) of the *pr-ʿ3* and to fill a barque with all the beautiful women of the inner section of the 'h (*hnw 'h*).

The final stanzas of the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5) are the most informative at all since they describe the entrance of Sinuhe in the inner part of the el-Lisht 'h-palace. At the great portal (*wmt*) flanked by two sphinxes, he is introduced (*st3*) into the palace, where the royal children greet him. After having passed the first gateway, he crosses the audience device composed of a first court (*w3hy*), an audience hall (*hnwty*) in which the king is seated on a throne (*st wrt*). Such description of the throne-room complex has correspondence in the real plan of royal palaces, as recognized in archaeologically known buildings. Where it is preserved in fact, it shows a specific tripartite shape with the succession of two hypostyle halls and a throne-room at the end. This architectural model, although not fully standardized in Middle Kingdom palaces, develops in the axial shape of New Kingdom palaces, where the three rooms are perfectly aligned each other.

According to Goelet's analysis of **the term *stp-s3*** in the earliest period, *stp-s3* as "palace" can be definitively encountered in written texts starting from the Middle Kingdom onwards with the appearance of the *pr*-sign and the '*nh wd3 snb* expression after the word. In Old Kingdom inscriptions it appears as an element of verbal phrases expressing a concept of protection offered to the king.³⁶¹ When the term is used in narrative passages and private titles, the recipient of *stp-s3* can be not only the king, but also other persons beside the king himself.³⁶² In narrative sections it seems to denote both a place and an activity in which more people – the king and other officials (*smrw nswt*) - could participate and issue statements in a sort of royal council.³⁶³ In biographical texts, as well as in private titles, the term *stp-s3* has a clear connection with the decision-making process, "an aspect of the *stp-*

³⁶¹ Goelet 1982: 467.

³⁶² At this time courtiers could be described as "beloved in the *stp-s3*" or "favored in the *stp-s3*". A courtier *inter alia* could also be "foremost of position in the *stp-s3*". See paragraph above: § 1.12.

³⁶³ Shaw 2010: 181.

s3 which underscores its consultative nature and its relationship to persons other than the king”.³⁶⁴ The possibility that the term may refer to either the place and the group of people gathered in this place raises the question of its interpretation as a proper palace or royal building. Against Goelet’s interpretation of the development of the term, the Middle Kingdom use of the word seems to retain aspects that go back to the Old Kingdom. Considering the usage of the term in private titles, particularly common are those epithets that refer to the owners as “beloved” (*mry*) or “favored/praised” (*hsy*) in the *stp-s3*. Middle Kingdom examples suggest that “praising”/“favoring” and “loving” were granted by the king. The bestowal of king’s approval may have occurred on specific occasions and have taken place before an audience consisting of the royal family and high officials.

The function of **the *pr-nswt*** as place for collecting a range of facilities (*b3kw*) can be reconstructed thanks to various expressions in literary texts. In both private and royal inscriptions *pr-nswt* appears as the source of goods to be brought to or taken from a person or another institution. In the Admonitions of Ipuwer (A.III.8) the incomes of the *pr-nswt* palace are recorded as *b3kw* or *g3wt*. The products mentioned in the text are manufactured and stored in the *šn’ n nswt*, the workshop of the king located in the *pr-nswt*. In the inscription from his tomb at Beni Hasan (A.II.43), *’Imn-m-ḥ3t* recorded payment of *b3kw* consisting of staple foods, dresses and adornments, copper and plants addressed to the *pr-nswt*.

The *pr-nswt* is a structure that appears often in relation with other institutions with a clear administrative nature: the treasury, *pr-ḥd*, and warehouses, *šn’*. The format of many private inscriptions indicates that the royal treasury was the place where palatial entries were physically stored, and the *pr-nswt* was the centre where incomes and outcomes were administered. Another role of the *pr-nswt* consisted in receiving reports from Egyptian provinces to update the government on happenings in outlying areas of the state. Judging from the titles compound with *pr-nswt*, official activities referred to it involved the receiving of reports, the assessment of inventories (cattle-lists) or the opening of sealed-doorways. The mention of similar activities and departments reflects an actual administrative practice in economic and civil affairs. Other offices involving administrative functions are those of the “scribe” (*sš*), the “sealer” (*ḥtmw*) and the “treasurer” (*ḥtmw n pr-*

³⁶⁴ Goelet 1982: 470.

ḥd). Inter alia, the title *sš (n) pr-nswt* evokes another branch of the central administration, that of the registration of economic and bureaucratic business. The types of sources that employ the word *pr-nswt* also reflect the word's institutional character. Many private inscriptions referring to the *pr-nswt* come from peripheral sites of mining, quarrying and military expeditions as well as from provinces such as Assiut or Beni Hasan, and belong to courtiers sent abroad for officials' missions, who had to report their results to the *pr-nswt* itself. The frequent mention of the *pr-nswt* in epithets of provincial officials is likewise linked to their intention to link themselves to the central administration. Differently from other words, the *pr-nswt* does not refer to any specific king or the concept of Majesty as other terms. Instead it was probably a term for a type of property under ruler's control intended for administrative and economic functions.

The term *ḥnw* often appears in narrative texts in prepositional phrases. The most common phrases have the preposition *m*, "in" or "from", and *r*, "to", which are usually closely associated with a main verb of motion. The expression *r ḥnw*, "to the *ḥnw*" arises in passages involving journeys and other activities commissioned by the king. The purpose of the trip is not always stated so that we do not even know what followed the king's arrival to the *ḥnw*. Of the five major terms for "palace", *ḥnw* is most commonly used in narrative contexts rather than in private titles. Examples of the phrase *r ḥnw*, "to the *ḥnw*" are often compound with motion verbs such as *spr*, "arrive" or *k*, "enter". Private inscriptions involve foreign expeditions carried out by the owner, after which he has to go back to the *ḥnw* through a trip or sailing. In narrative compositions the *ḥnw* is the final destination of journeys of the protagonists. In Papyrus Westcar (A.III.6) *Ddī*, the commoner called in front of Cheops to perform a wonder for the king, arrives to the *ḥnw* after having sailed northwards. In the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor (A.III.7) a high official returning from a failed expedition ensures the protagonist about his return to the *ḥnw* where he will be buried. In the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5) the protagonist, during his permanence in *Rtnw*, expresses his wish to go back to the *ḥnw*, described as place where he grew up. Things and people were often said to come from and in the *ḥnw* also in a number of papyri of this period. Contexts of use of term *ḥnw* suggest that we are dealing with an extensive place sometimes identified with the residence city Itjtawy. In addition to its aspect of "royal residence" the *ḥnw* should have had a special administrative function, most probably as the seat of government where people had to report their economic transactions or quarrying expeditions. Papyrus Reisner II (A.I.15) mentions the sending northwards of grain from This

to the *hnw*, where the vizier will reckon it. The *hnw* must be probably identified with the newly founded Itjtawy near Memphis, where the vizier resided. In contrast to This, the sending southwards of craftsmen *r niwt*, “to the city”, must refer to Thebes. The *hnw* appears as destination of deliveries consisting of various commodities as well as despatches regarding some products for festival in a number of papyri from Thebes (Papyrus Ramesseum III - A.I.19) and from Lahun (pBerlin 10021 - A.II.156). The commodities to be brought to the *hnw* can be mentioned as *ḳw*, a word that functions as generic term for “provisions”, or take the shape of *inw* (pBM 10756 - A.I.19; JE 51911 - A.I.14). The lack of resources (*g3wt*) arriving at the central administration causes fearfulness (*snd*) to the *hnw* in the context of the Admonitions of Ipuwer. The word *hnw* is exceptionally used in the Instructions to king Merikare (A.III.3) where it expresses a group of people affiliated with its place, more than the location itself, being the word used with verbs such as *mri*, “love” or *sr*, “foretell”. A figurative usage of the word *hnw* can be found in the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5), where the *hnw* is described in silence (*m sgr*) in the passage marking the death of Amenemhat by the metaphor of the closing of the great double gates (*rwty wrty*) of the *hnw* itself. In the Admonitions of Ipuwer (A.III.8), the mention of laws (*hpw*) and offices (*h3w*) and *knbt*-court in the group of strophes referring to the *hnw* suggests that the *hnw* is here evoked as central administration in general. In the Tale of Sinuhe, the *hnw* is the sending and receiving place of messages that allow communication between the officials and the central administration: at the end (A.III.5) of the tale, the return of Sinuhe to Egypt is announced by a message sent to the *hnw*. A passage of the Instructions to King Merikare (A.III.3) mentions the *hnw* in a context referring to Memphis as *Wddw swt*. Specifically, the text speaks of the time of the *hnw* to be intended as the Old Kingdom Memphis, when Memphis was the *hnw* itself, and to be translated as “residence city”.

In the aforementioned Papyrus Westcar (A.III.6) different terms for the royal palace and specifically *hnw*, *pr-ʿ3*, and *ḥ* are all used in really close sentences in contexts different from time to time. According to the sequence of characters’ movement in the section describing *Ddī*’s audience before King Cheops, it is possible to reconstruct the relationship among these different structures. The first passage to be described is *Ddī*’s navigation northwards and his arrival to the *hnw*. Cheops, after having asked to his son *Dd.f-Ḥr* to bring him *Ddī*, proceeds to the *w3hy*, the “great hall” of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h. It is only after having listened to *Ddī*’s tales and prophecy that king Cheops proceeds to his *ḥ* (*hm.f r ḥ.f*). Here he orders to assign *Ddī* to the house of prince *Dd.f-Ḥr*. The *hnw* would seem to be the widest institution of the three mentioned in the text and is the final destination of the sea-trip of *Ddī*. The *pr-*

‘3 is presented as part of the *hnw* and must be probably interpreted as a part of the *hnw* as “residence-city”, while the ‘*h* might be intended as a specific section of the wider *pr*-‘3.

The most informative document regarding the usage of **the term *pr*-‘3** during the Middle Kingdom is Papyrus Boulaq 18 (A.I.17) containing daily accounts of income and expenditure at the palace of Thebes over twelve days during the 13th Dynasty. The papyrus, listing different categories of people employed in the royal palace, allows to distinguish among different sections of the *pr*-‘3: the *k3p*, described as “inner palace” and consisting of private quarters of the building, and the *hnty*, “the outer palace” or the official quarter at the front. According to this text, some of the entries would have been supplied directly from the *šn*’, or “provision quarters”, among which the ‘*t iw**f*, “the meat chamber”, is mentioned once in Section 30: in the context of Papyrus Boulaq 18, the *šn*’ would have functioned as quarter where the food for the royal family and servants was prepared within the palace area. Among the outer architectural features of the palace it must be mentioned the *w3hy* or “columned hall”, the ‘*rryt*, or “entranceway” of the palace, the *w’rwt* or “sectors” of the *pr*-‘3 and the *pr-hd* or “treasury”. The *w3hy* can be also found in relation to the ‘*h*-palace, as for example in the Tale of Sinuhe, where it is described as columned hall crossed by Sinuhe during his royal audience. Similarly, the *pr-hd* is a term often used in narrative expressions and titles compound with word *pr-nswt*. The ‘*rryt* would have been an important component of temple and palace which functioned as a sort of “porch”.³⁶⁵ In the context of the stele of *Wp-w3wt*-‘3 (GL WAF 35 - A.II.41) the term is used in connection with *pr-nswt*, where the sealbearers and the people at the ‘*ryt* see owner’s admittance to the *pr-nswt*.

Focusing on the more specific terms used to define inner sections of departments of the royal palace, they would seem to be indiscriminately used in connection with the different terms for “palace”, depending on the context of the inscription. To confirm this, as highlighted by Spencer in her lexicographical study on the Ancient Egyptian temple, many of these terms are the same used to define specific sections of the religious architecture.³⁶⁶

Another important source for understanding the usage of word *pr*-‘3 is the so-called Papyrus Reisner II (A.I.15) listing the transactions of the royal dockyard workshop (*wḥrt*) at This during the 15th regnal year of Sesostri I. These workshops deal mainly with carpentry

³⁶⁵ Spencer 1984: 168.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

and recasting of metal tools, and seem to have been a dependency of the *pr-ʿ3* and to have worked as agencies of the palace. *Pr-ʿ3* is generally used as a wide institution consisting of several sections and used for different functions, economic and administrative.

PART I. LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ROYAL PALACE

Chapter 2. New Kingdom textual sources

2.1 Introduction

New Kingdom documentation is crucial in the attempt to reconstruct the royal palace institution and its functions. Although an architectural analysis of the palace is possible from the Middle Kingdom, only in the New Kingdom is the archaeology reach enough to offer substantial examples of royal palaces, especially thanks to the knowledge of two sites which were permanent royal cities and centers of residence and administration in the 18th Dynasty: Malkata,³⁶⁷ the city palace of Amenhotep III, and Amarna,³⁶⁸ the capital of Amenhotep IV. Despite the peculiarity of Amarna, which was undoubtedly innovative and non-traditional in many aspects, it represents a crucial source of knowledge for royal architecture in the New Kingdom. Its palaces are uniquely well documented, both archeologically and pictorially,³⁶⁹ so that the specific functions of each of them can be discussed in great detail together with their connection with the topographical layout of the entire city. A number of royal palaces should have existed at Memphis, the most ancient by far of the New Kingdom royal cities. Unfortunately all these palaces are still unknown, excepting for a single excavated example, the palace of Merenptah, which is especially important for understanding the function of the palace³⁷⁰ thanks to its exceptionally well-preserved status.³⁷¹

³⁶⁷ Daressy 1903: 165 ff. Tytus 1903. Winlock 1912: 185 ff. Winlock 1915: 253 ff. Hayes 1951: 35 ff., 82 ff., 156 ff., 231 ff. Smith 1998: 281 ff. Kemp - O'Connor 1974: 101 ff.

³⁶⁸ For the Central City and the Great Palace see: Petrie 1894. Peet - Woolley 1923: chapters I and II. Kemp - Garfi 1993. Kemp 1998: 17 ff. For the North City and the North Riverside Palace see: Pendlebury 1931: 233 ff. Pendlebury 1932: 143. Whittemore 1926: 3 ff. Kemp 1983: 18 ff. Kemp - Garfi: 1993. For the North Palace see: Newton 1924: 289 ff. Whittemore 1926: 3 ff. Spence 1999: 14 ff. Kemp 1977b: 123 ff. Peet - Woolley 1923. Frankfort - Pendlebury 1933. Pendlebury 1951.

³⁶⁹ Rosquin 2008: 93 ff. Wheatheread 2007. Kemp - Weatherhead 2000: 491 ff. Weatherhead 1992: 179 ff. Weatherhead 1994: 198 ff. Weatherhead 1995: 95 ff. Frankfort 1929. Davies 1903-8.

³⁷⁰ O'Connor 1995: 271.

³⁷¹ O'Connor 1991: 167 ff. Fisher 1915: 63 ff. Fisher 1917: 211 ff. Fisher 1921: 30 ff. Schwartz - Brooks - Hermann 1984: 31 ff.

Thebes³⁷² was another royal city which, according to written sources, hosted several palaces from the Middle Kingdom onwards. Together with the capital of the 19th Dynasty, Piramesse in the Eastern Delta,³⁷³ Thebes contained palaces that can be known only thanks to occurrences in texts. A specific section of the work will be dedicated to those New Kingdom palaces that are not archeologically documented in sites such as Thebes or Piramesse,³⁷⁴ for which the philological study can make up for the want of archeological data.³⁷⁵ However, palaces were not confined to the royal city: palatial structures have been excavated at Deir el-Ballas³⁷⁶ (PL. X-XI) and a “Harim”-palace has been unearthed at Medinet Gurob (PL. XII).³⁷⁷ These peripheral buildings offer an important instrument of comparison and integration in understanding the functions of Egyptian royal palaces. The site of Tell el-Dab’a has revealed a Tuthmosid palatial complex, probably built with defensive aims after the Hyksos period consisting of three huge palaces on platforms around an artificial lake.³⁷⁸

A type of royal palace that is typical of the 19th Dynasty³⁷⁹ architecture is the “temple-palace”,³⁸⁰ built of mud-brick at the southern side of the courtyards of royal mortuary temples made of stone. The prototype of these temple-palaces has been found within the courtyard of the mortuary temple of Sety I at Qurna.³⁸¹ Its dimension and size were exactly reproduced in the palace of Rameses II in the Ramesseum³⁸² and the first palace of Rameses III at Medinet Habu.³⁸³ Other similar buildings have been discovered in the

³⁷² Otto 1952. Nims 1955: 110 ff.

³⁷³ Bietak 1986.

³⁷⁴ Inlays of faience and glazed tiles from door frames, throne pedestal and decorated windows are the only examples for the palace of this site. Hayes 1937.

³⁷⁵ A number of scholars discussed the exact location of the Theban palace neighbouring the temple of Karnak. Despite these studies have been useful as starting point for my research, my own work varies from them as to its aim at identifying the palace-word that was generally associated with the Theban palace itself.

³⁷⁶ Lacovara 1980; 1981; 1985; 1990; 1993; 1996.

³⁷⁷ Thomas 1981. Kemp 1978b.

³⁷⁸ Bietak – Dorner – Janosi 2001. Bietak – Forstner-Müller 2005. Bietak – Forstner-Müller 2007. Bietak 2005: 145-151. The presence of palaces in royal dimensions has been explained by Bietak in connection with the recently discovered harbour basins as “the royal residence at the major naval base of *Prw-nfr*, in: Bietak 2006: 23. Bietak 2009: 15 ff.

³⁷⁹ According to Stadelmann, the root of these temple palaces could be traced back to the beginning of the Old Kingdom. “The so-called temple T or pavillion in the mortuary precinct of Djoser already displays the features and the function of a temple-palace, as well as being positioned to the south of the so-called *Hb-sd* court, which is the royal court in the later mortuary temples”. Stadelmann 1996: 229.

³⁸⁰ Stadelmann 1973: 221 ff.

³⁸¹ Stadelmann 1973: 293-99. Stadelmann 1972: 296-298.

³⁸² Stadelmann 1973: 233-36.

³⁸³ Hölscher 1941.

funerary complexes of Ay, Horemheb³⁸⁴ and Merenptah,³⁸⁵ confirming the idea that this kind of palaces were inaugurated and came into use at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, when kings had definitely abandoned Thebes to live and reside permanently in the northern city of Piramesse.³⁸⁶ It has been supposed that they could have served as temporary residences by 19th Dynasty kings during their short visit to the southern city, Thebes, in occasion of feasts and specific ceremonies.³⁸⁷ However, a close architectural examination of these palaces reveals that they were too small to have been actually used, even for a short stay.³⁸⁸ They exhibit small-scale versions of the main features of New Kingdom royal palaces and specifically of “ceremonial palaces”³⁸⁹ such the palace of Merenptah at Memphis: a first courtyard, which corresponds to the entrance court of the temple, a second columned hall and a throne room with a throne pedestal. A large Window of Appearance with its outside face towards the first temple court was a recurrent feature of these structures.³⁹⁰ These buildings were probably intended for the use of the king in the afterworld; as suggested by Stadelmann, “They were probably inhabited by portable statues of deified kings which appeared in the “Window of Appearance” and were carried in the processions and feasts of the necropolis.”³⁹¹

In order to define the original meaning of the words *‘h*, *pr-‘3*, *pr-nswt*, *hnw* and *stp-s3* discussed in this study, the huge literary production of the New Kingdom offers a series of examples of their usage in different contexts. The primary sources for the nature of the words under consideration are narrative texts - civil and religious, official and private - since they tend to be the most informative at all. These texts are particularly instructive because of their nature: here the terms for “palace” are inserted in prepositional sentences whose meaning is suggested by the general context of the composition. In this group are included New Kingdom private autobiographies, whose main source can be considered the text known as *Duties of the Vizier*,³⁹² which sets out the obligations of the highest official of the

³⁸⁴ Stadelmann 1973: 231-32.

³⁸⁵ Petrie 1897: 10 ff. Jaritz 1992: 65. Jaritz 1996: 99 ff.

³⁸⁶ Stadelmann 1994: 311.

³⁸⁷ Hölscher 1951: 37-59.

³⁸⁸ Stadelmann 1973: 241-2.

³⁸⁹ For a detailed analysis of the function and significance of the “ceremonial palace” see the dedicated chapter 4 below.

³⁹⁰ Stadelmann 1973: 221-242. For the function of this architectural element see: Kemp 1976a: 81 ff.

³⁹¹ Stadelmann 2001: 17.

³⁹² The copies of this composition detailing the *Duties of the Vizier* survive from four New Kingdom tomb-chapels at Thebes: the tomb of *Wsr* (TT 131); the tomb of *Rḥ-mi-R’* (TT 100); the tomb of *‘Imn-m-ḥpt* (TT 29) and the tomb of *P3-sr* (TT 106). For an overall discussion of the best preserved version from the *Rḥ-mi-R’*’s tomb see: Van de Boorn 1988. For a draft of sections 6 and 7 on a limestone

palace, the royal monumental inscriptions consisting of building inscriptions and annals,³⁹³ hymns to the gods and prayers found in great quantity both in monumental contexts and on papyri.³⁹⁴ The genre of the “Instructions” is represented by the Late New Kingdom Instructions of *’Imn-n-’ipt*,³⁹⁵ while that of the “tales and stories” is preserved on papyrus rolls containing a variety of compositions among which the only one containing reference to the royal building (*pr-nswt*) is the Tale of the Doomed Prince.³⁹⁶

Belonging to the genre of the royal decree, Horemheb’s inscription on the stele in front of the 10th pylon at Karnak,³⁹⁷ together with the Instructions to the vizier *Rḥ-mi-r*’s tomb,³⁹⁸ is one of the key-documents for the reconstruction of the administrative system of ancient Egypt and contains several references to the royal palace and the king.

Several titles concerning employees in the palace remain in a collection of texts known as the Tomb Robberies Papyri concerning the profanation of tombs of the late Ramessid Period (Rameses IX and Rameses X) and recording trials and inspections of such tombs to determine the extent of the crime.³⁹⁹ Being essentially political texts, they can be used in the process of reconstruction of the main offices connected to the administrative system of the royal palace.

New Kingdom titles and epithets compound with words for palace, mainly from burial private inscriptions and private stelae, develop with the increase of New Kingdom autobiographical inscriptions.⁴⁰⁰ This kind of citations exhibits difficulties of interpretations, because of its greatest deficiency, which is the lack of context in which each title usually occurs, but they are useful if compared with the kind of context available in narrative texts.⁴⁰¹ Meaningful for the interpretation of the term is also the comparison of forms of a given title with other compound with different terms for the royal palace and the analysis

ostrakon found in 2003 in TT 29, see: Tallet 2005: 66 ff. The date of the composition as late Middle Kingdom or New Kingdom is still an open debate.

³⁹³ New Kingdom monumental inscriptions enlarge upon earliest prototypes with such texts as the Annals of Thutmose III, the Poetical Stele of Thutmose III, the Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep II, the Boundary Stele of Amenhotep IV at El Amarna, the Dedication Inscription of Sety I or the Qadesh Battle Inscription of Rameses II, in: Lichtheim 1973-1980, II: 5.

³⁹⁴ Erman 2005: 10.

³⁹⁵ The entire loyalist teaching genre survives only in manuscripts from the New Kingdom which are copies of the original Middle Kingdom works; the Instruction of *’Imn-n-’ipt* is a proper New Kingdom compilation. Simpson 1972: 241.

³⁹⁶ Parkinson 2002: 295–296.

³⁹⁷ Kruchten 1981.

³⁹⁸ Van de Boorn 1989.

³⁹⁹ Peet 1925: 37 ff. Peet 1930. Capart – Gardiner – van de Walle 1936.

⁴⁰⁰ Lichtheim 1973-1980, II: 11.

⁴⁰¹ Goelet 1986: 20.

of their relationship with other offices within which the official may have operated. Despite the virtual intent of this work to examine every example of the term “palace”, it will be not possible to present every single quotation of some of the private titles in the New Kingdom sources because of their repetitive character and consequently frequent occurrence.

The importance of New Kingdom written sources in the study of the ancient Egyptian royal palace lies in the fact that to this period of the Egyptian history belongs the majority of royal buildings that have been archaeologically investigated. The final attempt of this study will be to reconnect the functional differences observed in the architectural analysis of these structures with semantic variations among the palace-terms. The main difficulty in reconnecting the two sources, the archaeological and philological one, consists in the nature and provenance of the available inscriptions; except for rare inscriptions from the site of Malkata,⁴⁰² Memphis⁴⁰³ or Medinet Habu,⁴⁰⁴ almost all the expressions and titles do not come from the same sites hosting palatial complexes, but are conserved in independent monuments. Since most of the terms for palace are not explicitly located in a specific site in available written sources, it is difficult to determine to which one of the archeologically known palaces these words refer.

2.2 The term ‘*h*’ in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

The word ‘*h*’ occurs most often in narrative contexts and prepositional phrases in expressions such as *r ‘h*, “to the ‘*h*” and *m ‘h*, “in the ‘*h*”. The phrase *r ‘h* arises in passage of official narrative texts involving journeys and other activities connected with the king, or commissioned by him.

The Coronation Text inscribed on the blocks of the Red Chapel of Karnak (Karnak 6 – B.I.9; Deir el-Bahari 1 - B.I.10) describes the arrival of the Queen Hatshepsut *r sb3wy n ‘h nswt*, “to the double gate of the royal ‘*h*” and *r hnt ‘h*, “to the front of the ‘*h*”. The action of motion is expressed by verbs like *spr*, “to arrive”,⁴⁰⁵ or ‘*k*, “to enter”,⁴⁰⁶ and is aimed to the making of an oracle in front of the royal building (*hr bi3yt*). Text refers to a ritual situation

⁴⁰² Hayes 1951:35 ff.; 82 ff.; 156 ff.; 231 ff.

⁴⁰³ Edgar 1905: 100-103. Fisher 1917: 224 ff.

⁴⁰⁴ Hölscher 1941: fig. 28, pl. 37. Hölscher 1951: pl. 238 B, 239.

⁴⁰⁵ GEG: 589.

⁴⁰⁶ GEG: 558.

connected with the enthronement of the Queen in the 'h on the occasion of the oracular procession of Amun in the temple of Karnak. This text particularly refers to the palace of Karnak and is a key source of information about a royal complex, which is not archeologically known.⁴⁰⁷

The expression *iw r 'h* "to come to the 'h" occurs once in Bet-Shean stele of Rameses II (B.I.39) where it is used in a descriptive caption referring to Asiatic enemies arriving to the 'h of Piramesse with bowed heads:

*iw.sn twt m w3h tp r 'h.f 'nh w3s pr R'-mssw '3
htw*

They come to him all together with bowed head
to his 'h of life and dominion, Piramesse, Great of
Victories

Prepositional phrase: movement verb (<i>spr</i> , <i>'k</i> , <i>iw</i>) + <i>r 'h</i>				
<i>'k hm.f r hnt 'h n nn w3i-r.f pr- 'Imn</i>	His Majesty (the god) enters into the front of the 'h named <i>nn w3i-r.f</i> , house of Amun	Hatsh.	Karnak 6	B.I.9
<i>spr hm.f r tp itrw hr bi3yt '3t wrt r sb3wy n 'h nswt</i>	His Majesty arrives to the head of the river for a very big oracle to the double gates of the 'h of the king	Hatsh. Hatsh.	Karnak 6 Deir el-Bahari 1	B.I.9 B.I.10
<i>wn.in hm Nb-r- dr shd.n hr.f r i3bt hr bi3yt r sb3wy imnt 'h n wsht nt nn w3i- r.f nty hr m3' n tp itrw</i>	Then the Majesty, Lord of the Universe had his head inclined to the east making an oracle to the western double gate of the 'h in the hall of <i>nn w3i- r.f</i> , which is on the bank of the head of the river	Hatsh. Hatsh.	Karnak 6 Deir el-Bahari 1	B.I.9 B.I.10
<i>iw.sn n.f twt m w3h tp r 'h.f 'nh w3s pr R'-mssw- 'Imn '3 htw</i>	They (the Asiatic) come to him all together with bowed head to his 'h of life and dominion, Piramesse, Great of Victories	Ram. II	University Museum Pennsylvania Nr. 29.107.958	B.I.39

⁴⁰⁷ See paragraph below: § 2.12.

Phrases similar to those just cited mention a private person's entrance into the 'h (r 'h). In biographical inscriptions the identical terminology of the royal monuments seems to be frequently used in expressions compound with with verb 'k, "enter":

Prepositional phrase: movement verb (<i>spr</i>, 'k, iw) + r 'h				
'k r 'h pri hr hswt	One who enters in the 'h and comes out with favors/praises	Hr(i)w.f (Am. III-IV) R'-ms(i)w (Am. III-IV) P3-rn-nfr (Am. IV)	TT 192 TT 55 TT 188	B.II.79 B.II.84 B.II.90
'k r 'h m3' ntr nfr	One who enters in the 'h and sees the good god	Rw-rw (Sety I)	Louvre C 92	B.II.125
'k.i r 'h	I enter in the 'h	Mr pr wr 'lmn-htp (Am. III)	Memphis	B.II.68
'k hsi [pri] [di] tryt n imy 'h	Entering favored [giving] respects to those who are in the 'h	Tn-wrw (Am. II)	TT 101	B.II.53

In private inscriptions the purpose of the entering in the 'h is rarely stated. Is not always known what followed the king's or the official's arrival at the 'h, since the expressions often end with the word 'h itself. In the inscription from his tomb a Thebes (TT 188 - B.II.90), P3-rn-nfr is described while entering in the 'h and coming out with favors, without any more detailed specification:

iry-p't h3ty-' w'(ty) n nswt gs st w'ty 'k 'h pr hr hswt imy-r k3wt nb(w)t nswt m pr-'ltn The hereditary prince and count, the sole attendant of the king in private place, one who entered the palace and came out with favor, the overseer of all the king's work projects in the House of Aten

Passages in official inscriptions may refer to some ritual occasion, such in the case of the Hatshepsut's Coronation text, where the Queen arrives to the head of the river hr b3yt '3t wrt r sb3wy n 'h nswt, "making a big oracle in front of the double gate of the 'h" (B.I.10) and in the instance of Bet-Shean stele, where the arrival of the Asiatic to the 'h (r 'h) takes place on the occasion of their submission to the Egyptian king (B.I.39). Other ceremonial activities practiced m 'h, "in the 'h", are those suggested by the rare compounds di 3wt, "to give prayers" and ir hswt "to make prayers", respectively used in the stele of 'In-ît.f from his

tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga (B.II.10) and in the tomb of *Sw-m-nwt* at Thebes West no. 92 (B.II.31).

Ceremonial activity (<i>hswt</i> , <i>3wt</i> , <i>b'3yt</i>) + ' <i>h</i>				
<i>ir hsswt/hsst</i> <i>imy 'h</i>	One who makes praises/favors in the ' <i>h</i>	<i>Sw-m-nwt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 92	B.II.31
<i>dī.f 3wt-ib m 'h</i> <i>[km3] šfyt m</i> <i>hnw st wrt</i>	He gives offerings in the ' <i>h</i> , one who creates dignity in the <i>hnw</i> of the great seat	<i>'In-īt.f</i> (Thut. III)	Louvre C 26	B.II.10

The offerings made in the '*h* might have been in some cases royal gifts to come forth at the king's behest according to the expression contained in the tomb of *R'-ms(i)w* in Thebes West (B.II.84): *hnk.s=f r 'h n nb.s=f*, "she offers to the '*h* of his Lord".

In the North Stele C.21 from the Great Temple of Abu Simbel (B.I.42) the phrase *r 'h* occurs in connection with the delivery to the '*h* of a proper tribute, the *inw*,⁴⁰⁸ by the chiefs of rebellious: *srw gr inī nw inw.sn r 'h.f*, "their chief bear their tribute to his '*h*". The association between the concept of *inw* and the '*h* is also suggested by the context of the inscription in the Ramessid tomb of *P3-sr* (TT 106 - B.II.128). The biographical text from the Broad Hall of his tomb states as follows:

<i>īw wd nb.ī tsw b3k im r smr tp n 'h dhn.n.f sw r</i> <i>imy-r3 k3w hm ntr tp n wrt h33 whm.n.f rdīt.f r</i> <i>imy-r3 niwt wpt-m3't dīw m hr.f r šsp inw h3st</i> <i>rsyt mḥtt r pr-ḥd n nswt</i>	My Lord commanded his servant be raised to first friend of the ' <i>h</i> , he having appointed him as overseer of the cattle, first prophet of <i>h33</i> ; he continued by appointing (him) as major of the city and justice, giving him responsibility for receiving the <i>inw</i> of the northern and southern foreign lands to the treasury of the king.
---	--

In this passage the same official is presented as *smr tp n 'h* and responsible of the withdrawal of the *inw*. An inscription from the temple of Luxor (B.I.45) listing royal personnel at the time of Rameses II records the "the overseer of the city, the vizier, the royal companions, the sealer of the '*h* (..) who come in obeisance, bearing their tribute", *imy-r niwt t3ty smrw nswt ḥtmw 'h (..) īw m w3ḥ hr inw*. These instances are too few to state with certainty that the *inw* was concretely delivered to the '*h*, but highlight some connection of this structure with the ceremony of reception and distribution of gifts

⁴⁰⁸ Wb I: 91, 12-18. Aldred 1970: 111. Bleiberg 1984: 155.

between the king and his officials.⁴⁰⁹ The entering of the *inw* in the royal palace is confirmed by several hieratic dockets recovered from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata, which provide an excellent idea of what kind of foodstuffs were stored in a royal building: several commodities such as wine, other drinks, *‘d* fat, fowl and oil are registered under the rubric *inw*.⁴¹⁰ Malkata hieratic dockets do not define where *inw* was located and do not specify any eventual division of goods between temple and palace, but their nature of administrative documents and their provenience from the palatial area let assume that the *inw* commodities were sent to the palace itself.⁴¹¹

The expression *m ‘h* obviously appears in sentences which expresses the being or the staying of the Majesty in his *‘h* (*m ‘h*).

Prepositional phrase: verb of stasis (<i>nw, iw, mn, htp</i>) + <i>‘h</i> + <i>hm</i>				
<i>ink pw sndm.n.i m ‘h</i>	It was me who enjoyed myself in the <i>‘h</i>	Hatsh.	Karnak 3	B.I.13
<i>ph m htp r T3- mrī r R’mss(w) ‘3 n htw htp m ‘h.f ‘nh w3s mī R’ imy 3ht,</i>	Arrival in Egypt, at Piramesse Great in Victories, resting in his <i>‘h</i> of life and dominion like Ra who is in the Horizon	Ram. II	Battle of Qadesh	B.I.38
<i>nw hrw iw.i m ‘h</i>	Every day that I am in the <i>‘h</i>	Ram. II	Battle of Qadesh	B.I.38
<i>hrw pn iw.tw m ‘h nfr imy(t) pr- ‘3 ‘nh-hpr-k3-R’ m3’ hrw</i>	On this day I was in the good <i>‘h</i> , which is the estate of <i>‘nh-hpr-k3-R’</i> justified	Tut.	CG 41565	B.I.23
<i>hm.f m ‘h.f</i>	His Majesty in his <i>‘h</i>	<i>‘Imn-m-ipt</i> (Ram. III)	TT 148	B.II.164
<i>hm.f ‘nh wd3 snb hmw hmw šm’yt hb3yt wn m b3kw m pr- nswt ip.tw b3kw.sn r [...] ‘h nb t3wy</i>	His Majesty, may he live prosper and be in health, has consecrated men and women slaves, singers and dancers who are servant in the <i>pr-nswt</i> and their wages are charged	Tut.	CG 41565	B.I.23

⁴⁰⁹ Most of the inscriptions related to the concept of *inw*, do not specifically define the structure where it was delivered, but connect the word with the Pharaoh, stressing the destination of the *inw* for the king’s privy purse: Bleiberg 1984: 156-7.

⁴¹⁰ Hayes 1951: 158: Q, U; 169: R, S, V; fig. 10, 126. Leahy 1978: 32, XXI, XXIII; 34, XLIX; 35, XLVIII; 36, LV, LVIII; 37, LXIII.

⁴¹¹ Bleiberg 1984: 161.

	to the [...] 'h of the Lord of the Two Lands			
<i>hm.k mn m 'h.f</i>	Your Majesty stands firm in his 'h	Ram. II- III	Decree of blessing Ptah	B.I.54

Hatshepsut is said to have been in the 'h when she decided to erect the obelisk for the temple of Amun at Karnak (B.I.13): *ink pw sndm m 'h sh3.n.i wd3 km3w.i*, "It was who enjoyed myself in the 'h, I was remembered by my creates". The Restoration decree of Tutankhamun (B.I.23) describes the king as staying in the 'h which was before the estate of Thutmose I: *hm.f m 'h.f imyt-pr 'nh-hpr-k3-R'*, "estate of 'nh-hpr-k3-R". His permanence in the royal building is compared to that of Ra in the *hnw* of the sky (*mi R' m hnw pt*). In all these examples, when the word for "king" occurs, it is expressed by the term *hm* translated generally as "Majesty" and strictly connected with the term 'h.

The expression *iw m 'h* "to be in the 'h" occurs also in the Ramessid royal inscriptions, for example in those sections of the Battle of Qadesh, where the return of Rameses II at Piramesse is described (B.I.38): in one case the verb *iw*, "to be" is replaced by *htp*, "to rest" in the phrase *htp m 'h.f 'nh w3s mi R' imy 3ht*, "resting in his 'h of life and dominion like Ra who is in the Horizon" which recalls the similar expression of Tutankhamun's decree (CG 41565 – B.I.23). A similar sentence, suggesting the permanence of the king in the 'h, appears in a private late New Kingdom inscription, the lintel Berlin 8172 of 'Iwny containing a hymn to Amun (B.II.127): *p3 nb 3bdw htp m 'h.f*, "when the Lord of Abydos rests in his 'h". The compound *mn m 'h*, "to stay firm in the 'h", which could be considered of the same kind of the previous, refers more to a specific royal quality of the king than to his effective presence in the building: *hm.k mn m 'h.f* "Your Majesty stands firm in his 'h" (Decree of Blessing Ptah - B.I.54).

Again the permanence of the king in the 'h can be related to specific ceremonial occasions such as the celebration of the *Sed*-festival at the time of Amenhotep III,⁴¹² described on the walls of the Temple of Soleb in Nubia⁴¹³ (B.I.17):

- A.
htp m 'h ii hr irt irrwt nb n Hb-(sd) Resting in the 'h when coming to perform all the rites of the *Sed*-festival
- B.
htp m 'h in n[sw] hft iit hr tnt3t [m hrw 3 n] Hb- Resting in the 'h when coming from the dais [on

⁴¹² See the dedicated chapter below for the interpretation of the function of the ceremonial palace and its connection with the celebration of the *Hb-(sd)* festival.

⁴¹³ Giorgini 1965. Leclant 1984: 1076-80.

(sd)

day 3] of the *Sed*-festival

C.

*ḥtp m 'ḥ in nsw ḥft iit ḥr tnt3t m [hrw 13] n ḥb-
(sd)*

Resting in the 'ḥ when coming from the dais [on
day 13] of the *Sed*-festival

Term 'ḥ can often be found in verbal compounds using verb *ḥ'i*, literally “to appear in glory”.⁴¹⁴ This verb is often used in contexts that describe the coronation and the enthronement of the king, suggesting a more specific meaning than the mere “appearance” of the king. The Coronation text carved on the middle colonnade of the temple at Deir el-Bahari (B.I.11) is presented in the form of a speech made by Thutmose I, in order to formally declare Hatshepsut heir to the throne:

I. 4) *m33.t tp-rd.t m 'ḥ iirt k3w špsw šps.t s'ḥ
shmty 3ḥt m ḥk3w.t*

You see your rules in the 'ḥ, your *k3w* made
noble, receiving your dignity, your double crown
shining in your magic virtue

I. 6) *ḥ'i.t m 'ḥ hkr ḥ3t.t m shmty*

You appear in glory (you are enthroned) in the 'ḥ
and your head is adorned with the double crown.

Inscription of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari recording the expedition to *Pwnt* (B.I.12) refers to her appearance *m ḥnw dsrw nw 'ḥ.f*, “in the holy *ḥnw* of his 'ḥ”:

I. 1) *rnpt 9 ḥpr ḥmst m d3dw ḥ'i(t) nswt m shmty
ḥr st wrt nt d'm ḥnw dsrw nw 'ḥ.f*

In the 9th year the Queen was in the *d3dw*;
appearance of the king in the double crown on
the great throne of gold in the holy *ḥnw* of his 'ḥ

In a private inscription from tomb TT 192 (B.II.79) the *ḥ'i*-action was clearly performed by *ḥr(i)w.f* at the king's behest:

ḥ'i(t) m 'ḥ in nsw

Appearing in the 'ḥ in relation to the king

In the tomb no. 25 at Amarna (B.II.99), 'y enjoys the beauty of the Pharaoh at his appearance in the 'ḥ, in front of officials and companions of the king:

*p3-ḥw ḥr wnmī nswt smr '3 n 3bḥ n.f ib nswt sš
m3'.f ntr itf 'y wḥm 'nḥ dd.f nw.kwī m3' n nswt n
shpr.f 'k3 nb t3wy 3ḥ nb.f m33 nfrw.f ḥ'i(f).f m 'ḥ
iḥ m-[ḥ3]t smr w nswt ḥr tp(y) n šsmw nb.f*

The fan-bearer at the right hand of the king, the
great companion to be confided in, the true
king's scribe, his beloved, the god's father 'y, may
he live again. He says “I was one true to the king,
one whom he fostered, straightforward to the

⁴¹⁴ GEG: 584. Wb III: 249.

Lord of the Two Lands, effective for his Lord; one who saw his beauty when he appeared in his 'h, while I was in front of the officials and companions of the king, (being) the first of his Lord-followers.

The king is “magnified”, (literally “made great” - *ir iw '3w*) in his 'h by *P3- nḥsy*, first servant of Aten, in *P3- nḥsy*'s inscription from his tomb no. 6 at Amarna (B.II.94):

l. 1-7) iw.f (nswt?) '3w m 'h in b3k tpy n 'ltn m pr- 'ltn m 3ḥn-'ltn [P3-nḥsy m3'-ḥrw] (The king?) is magnified in the 'h by the first servant of the Aten in the House of *3ḥn-'ltn [P3-nḥsy justified]*

The so-called Coronation Text of Horemheb (B.I.25) contains an explicit reference to the establishing of the crown (*smn ḥ'w.f ḥry-tp.f*) at the hand of Amun upon the head of the King:

l. 17) (..) 'lmn wī s3.f ḥr ḥ3t.f r 'h r smn ḥ'w.f ḥry-tp.f r sk3(i) 'h'w.f mī-ḥd.f (..) Amun is come, his son in front of him, to the 'h in order to establish his crown upon his head and in order to prolong his period like to himself.

A similar format was used in another Horemheb's monument, a quartzite stele from the Temple of Ptah at Memphis (B.I.30):

l. 6) 'lmn m-' nt isī 'lmn iw sw.f ḥr ḥ3t.f r 'h r smnt ḥ'w.f ḥr tp.f r sk3i.f 'h'w.f Amun, behold Amun comes, with his son in front of him, to the 'h, to establish the crowns over his head, and making long the period of his life.

The “appearance in glory” (*ḥ'ī*) of the king is mentioned in Ramessid inscriptions in contexts of ceremonial nature and with some religious overtones, where this happening is compared to the manifestation of god Ra in the sky. Inscriptions from the palace of Merenptah (B.I.49), on the columns of the main hall mention twice the appearance of the king in the 'h:

l. 5) ḥ'ī(t) nswt mī R' m 'h n 3ḥt Appearance of the king like Ra in the 'h

l. 1-2) ḥ'ī(t) nswt m 'h stp 'nh ḥ3.f [mī R'] Appearance of the king in the 'h, would that he protects life, like Ra

According to the inscriptions from the temple-palace of Rameses III at Medinet Habu (B.I.56), the king's appearance may be explicitly linked to a religious occasion. On the doorjambs of the two entrances to the palace, the king “appears” (*ḥ'ī*) at “his 'h of his noble

temple" (*ḥ n ḥwt.f špsī*) in order to join the god Amun during the feast of Opet⁴¹⁵ and the Feast of the Valley.⁴¹⁶

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a) <i>ḥ'ī(t) nswt mī R' m ḥ n ḥwt.f špsī r šḥ'ī 'īt.f 'mn m ḥb.f n īnb</i></p> | <p>Appearance of the king like Ra in his <i>ḥ</i> of his noble temple to make his father appear, Amun, in his Feast of the Valley</p> |
| <p>b) <i>ḥk3 'n m pri.f mī nswt-bīty m ḥ'w.f m ḥrt ḥry-tp sb3yt m ḥ špsī nty mī 3ḥt n R'</i></p> | <p>Beautiful ruler in his going like king of Upper and Lower Egypt in his appearance in heaven upon the doors of the noble <i>ḥ</i> like Ra in the horizon.</p> |

According to these evidence, *ḥ* would seem the term specifically used during the 19th Dynasty referring to the institution of the "temple-palace". The connection of the term with a structure for which is supposed a ceremonial function, rather than an actual residential use,⁴¹⁷ suggests the ceremonial nature of the term.

Among the ceremonies that would have taken place in the *ḥ* text mentions the appointment and the promotion of high officials by the king. In his tomb TT 192 (B.II.79) *P3-sr* tells to have been appointed first companion of the *ḥ* by the king:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>īw wḏ nb.ī ṭsw b3k īm r smr tp n ḥ dhn.n.f sw r īmy-r3 k3w ḥm ntr tp n wrt ḥk3</i></p> | <p>My Lord commanded his servant be raised to first friend of the <i>ḥ</i>, he having appointed him as overseer of the cattle, first prophet of <i>ḥk3</i></p> |
|--|--|

Mn-ḥpr-r'-snb(w) (B.II.5), *Dḥwty* (B.II.24) and *Mn-ḥpr-R'-Snb* (B.II.117) are defined in their respective tombs as *šḥn[t]y (n.f) st.f m ḥ*, "one whose position/status was promoted in the *ḥ*" most likely referring to a promotion gained up thanks to a king's decision.

Some expressions suggest an image of the *ḥ* as place of real decisions made by the king himself in the presence of his officials. In his decree carved on the walls of the temple of

⁴¹⁵ The New Kingdom festival of Opet was a rite expressly connected with the Pharaoh and his father Amun(-Ra), during which the Pharaoh traveled to the temple of Luxor at Thebes. Here Amun gave to the king the powers of kingship as living Horus. Murnane 1982: 574-9. Lanny 1985; 1986. Spalinger 2000: 521.

⁴¹⁶ During the Feast of the Valley the statues of Amun, his consort Mut and their son Khonsu, were carried across the Nile to Deir el-Bahari in the western bank. Spalinger 2000: 521. For a more detailed analysis of the main Egyptian royal festivals see Breasted 1972.

⁴¹⁷ Stadelmann 1996: 225 ff.

Karnak (B.I.26), Horemheb states to have given orders (*tp-rd*)⁴¹⁸ and laws (*h_{pw}*)⁴¹⁹ to his officials in the 'h:

II, 4) *dī.n.ī tp-rd m hr.sn h_{pw} m hrwy.t.sn imy ['h]* I gave orders to them and laws in their days in the ['h]

mdww, "words" spoken by the king (*nb*) in the 'h are mentioned in some private inscriptions:

<i>mdww prt m h_{nw} 'h</i>	Words that come from the <i>h_{nw}</i> of the 'h	' <i>Imn-h_{tp}</i> (Am. III)	CG 583	B.II.73
<i>mdww n nb 'h</i>	Words of the Lord of the 'h	<i>R'-ms(i)w</i> (Am. III-IV)	TT 55	B.II.84

2.3 The term 'h in titles and epithets

The term 'h appears frequently in epithets referring to gods and goddesses in royal inscriptions as well as in private material. The epithets under question are the simplest *nb* 'h, "Lord of the 'h", generally referred to the king in the form of Horus,⁴²⁰ and *nbt* 'h, "lady of the 'h", used for female deities such as *Wrt-Hk3w*, Nekhbet, Sekhmet, Mut and Hathor. Epithets used for goddesses show two main variants, *nbt* 'h, "lady of the 'h", being interchangeable with *h_{nwt}* 'h, "mistress of the 'h". Such epithets prove that divine cults could be associated with some form of the 'h.⁴²¹ The 'h reported by these expressions do not relate to the 'h as "palace" under consideration in the present study; it must be probably identified with the 'h-*ntr* of the earlier periods, which comes to loose its specification in later inscriptions.⁴²² This specific building would have functioned more as a shrine or a religious building rather than as secular structure. The decision to include this form of the 'h in the present study aims to show the multivalent nature of the term, which

⁴¹⁸ GEG: 599. Wb V: 288.

⁴¹⁹ GEG: 579. Wb II: 488.

⁴²⁰ For an overview of the expression "Horus in the Palace" in ancient Egyptian texts see Gundlach 2009: 45 ff.

⁴²¹ Goelet 1982: 380.

⁴²² For a detailed study of the different forms of 'h in the Old Kingdom and the 'h-*ntr* hieroglyph see Goelet 1982.

could be used to identify even a kind of sanctuary or shrine for the divine images from the Old Kingdom onwards.

'h in the formula: <i>nbt/Hnwt</i> + 'h, "(goddess) lady/mistress of the 'h"				
<i>wr šfyt m 'h/šfyt.s m 'h</i>	(Mut) great of dignity in the 'h/ Her (Mut's) dignity in the 'h	Rameses VI	BM 194	B.I.60
<i>(Wrt-Hk3w) nbt 'h</i>	<i>(Wrt-Hk3w) Lady of the 'h</i>	Horemheb	Karnak 9	B.I.28
		Sety I	Karnak 11	B.I.36
		Sety I	Karnak 12	B.I.37
		Rameses II	Karnak 14	B.I.47
		Rameses III	Medinet Habu 1	B.I.55
		Ram. IV	Palestine Archaeological Museum of Jerusalem 36.1993	B.I.59
		<i>R'-nfr</i> (Thut. III – Am. III/IV)	Aniba	B.II.5
<i>nbt 'h (mrwt)</i>	Lady of the 'h (beloved)	<i>Hr</i> (18 th Dyn.)	MMA 23.8	B.II.111
		<i>P3-sr</i> (Ram. II)	Liverpool City Museum Inv. 24.9.00.92	B.II.133
		Am. III	Cairo 1	B.I.16
		Tut.	JE 61481	B.I.24
		Merenptah	Memphis 2	B.I.49
		Rameses III	Abu Simbel	B.I.57
<i>Hnwt 'h</i>	Mistress of the 'h	<i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.)	TT 353	B.II.40
		<i>Hry</i> (Ram. III)	Khartoum 3061	B.II.165
		? (Am. III ?)	Brooklyn Museum 47.120.3	B.II.119
<i>Hnwt mrwt m 'h m nb ntrw</i>	Mistress beloved in the 'h by all the gods	<i>H3ty-'</i> (18 th Dyn.)	Khartoum Museum 4446	B.II.118
		<i>Dhwtwy</i> (Ram. II)	TT 45	B.II.145
		Horemheb (?)	Karnak 9	B.I.27

The male gods who are most often associated with the *ḥ* are Horus, Ra and Amun-Ra, all considered divine manifestations of the living-king.⁴²³ Demarcation between the divine image of the kingship and the political-cultural reality of the living-king has been always weak on the course of the Egyptian history, so that it can be complicated to distinguish between the two entities. It follows that the distinction between secular and religious buildings should not be so clear. Palaces, and above all *ḥ*-palaces were holy localities, since the Egyptian king – living or dead – is the holder of religious power.⁴²⁴ It is quite clear that when Pharaoh is cited or described as Horus-king, he is always associated with the *ḥ*-palace, which was probably considered the most appropriate form of the palace for the divine manifestation of the king.

<i>ḥ</i> in formula composed with <i>Hr</i>, “Horus” and <i>R</i>, “Ra”.				
<i>imy-ib (n) Hr nb ḥ.f</i>	Favorite of Horus Lord of his <i>ḥ</i>	<i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III-IV) <i>Nḥt-mīn</i> (18 th Dyn.) <i>Hrn-m-ḥb</i> (Am. IV)	TT 192 BM 550 CG 779	B.II.79-80 B.II.102 B.II.109
<i>īr 3ḥ n nb ḥ(t) n-ʿ3-n mnḥ.f n nswt</i>	One who did what is useful from the Lord of the <i>ḥ(t)</i> as much as he was efficient for the king	<i>ʿImn-m-īpt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 96	B.II.26
<i>īr 3ḥ n nb ḥ(t) n-ʿ3-n mnḥ.f n nswt</i>	One who did what is useful from the Lord of the <i>ḥ(t)</i> as much as he was efficient for the king	<i>ʿImn-m-īpt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 96	B.II.26
<i>ʿnḥwy Hr m ḥ.f</i>	Ears of the Horus in his <i>ḥ</i>	<i>ʿImn-m-īpt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 96	B.II.26
<i>wp t3wy Hr m ḥ.f</i>	One who opens the Two Lands of Horus in his <i>ḥ</i>	<i>ʿImn-m-ḥ3t</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 97	B.II.30
<i>wr ḥnt n Hr nb ḥ</i>	Chief of the harim of Horus, Lord of the <i>ḥ</i>	Rameses II	Luxor 2	B.I.52
<i>m3' [n] Hr m ḥ m hrt-hrw nt r' [nb]</i>	One true [to] Horus in the <i>ḥ</i> during the course of [every] day	<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 63	B.II.63
<i>mḥ-ib Hr nb ḥ</i>	Overseer of the	<i>Dḥwty</i> (Thut. III –	TT 11	B.II.24

⁴²³ The relationship between the sun-god Horus and the king in his aspect of Horus can be traced back to the 1st Dynasty, in: Gundlach 2009: 46.

⁴²⁴ Gundlach 2009: 60.

	heart of Horus Lord of the 'h	Hatsh.)		
<i>nswt ntr nb pt ntr '3 m 'h n 'Inbw-hd</i>	(Amun-Ra) king of the gods, the great god in the 'h of the White Wall (Memphis)	? (20 th Dyn.)	CG 1120	B.II.181
<i>nsyt R' m 'h 'lpt-Swt</i>	Kingship of Ra in the 'h of Karnak	Am. II	Karnak 7	B.I.14
<i>Hr m 'h.(f)</i>	Horus of the(/his) 'h	'Imn-m-h3t (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 97	B.II.30
		<i>Tnwn3</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 76	B.II.56
		<i>Sbk-htp</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 63	B.II.63
		'Imn-wsr (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 131	B.II.36
<i>hs[i] Hr m 'h</i>	Praising/favoring Horus in the 'h	<i>Sn-nfr</i> (18 th Dyn.)	CG 556	B.II.114
<i>sms n Hr nb 'h</i>	Following Horus, the Lord of the 'h	<i>Hpw-snbw</i> (Thut. III – Hatsh.)	CG 648	B.II.21
<i>sdt[y] (sdty) Hr m 'h.f</i>	Forster child of Horus in his 'h	<i>Tnwn3</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 76	B.II.56

Explicit references to the 'h as religious building rather than as secular royal structure are those expressions that reconnect a specific deity or many gods (*ntrw*) to the palace ('h): such as that in Papyrus pTurin CGT 54051: *Ntrw m 'h*, “the gods in the 'h”.⁴²⁵ The possibility that the same term could refer to either a divine sanctuary or the royal palace might provide an explanation of the need to specify the royal ownership of the 'h in some expression, where the term is connected to words for king: *nb*, *hm* or *nswt*.

The royal 'h				
<i>'h nb t3wy</i>	'h of the Lord of the Two Lands	Tut.	CG 41565	B.I.23
<i>s'3.n nb t3wy m 'h</i>	One whom the Lord of the Two Lands caused to be great in the 'h	<i>Hk3-r-nh3</i> (Am. II)	TT 64	B.II.55
<i>sb3w hm.f m (hm) 'h</i>	One whom His Majesty thought, in the Majesty of the 'h	<i>St-3w</i> (Ram. II)	Wadi el-Sebua	B.II.132

⁴²⁵ Many of these titles have been collected and listed by Christian Leitz in a sort of Dictionary of Egyptian deities and divine designations (Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen): Leitz 2002.

The word *ḥ* is a component of titles which formed part of the titling of several important New Kingdom officials. The most common is *ḥrp ḥ*⁴²⁶, “controller of the *ḥ*” developed during the Old Kingdom⁴²⁷ and definitively used only with the 18th Dynasty.⁴²⁸ It seems to have been one of the most important functions of a man’s career, since it will be always occupying a significant spot among his titles.⁴²⁹ When it appears in individual titles, it is never alone but it is used in combination with one or more epithets and it seems an office strictly connected with the king, as suggested by expressions such as *ḥrp ḥ nb t3wy*, “controller of the *ḥ* of the Lord of the two lands” and *ḥrp ḥ nswt*, “controller of the *ḥ* of the king”.

<i>ḥrp ḥ</i>	At the head/controller of the <i>ḥ</i>	<i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.) <i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III – IV)	Thebes 3 TT 192	B. II.45 B. II.79
<i>ḥrp ḥ nb t3wy</i>	At the head/controller of the <i>ḥ</i> of the Lord of the two lands	<i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III – IV)	Bubastis	B.II.81
<i>smr ḥrp ḥ nswt</i>	Companion at the head/controller of the <i>ḥ</i> of the king	<i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.)	CG 579	B.II.47

In Old Kingdom evidence the title is strictly linked to the celebration of the *ḥb-sd*; men with this office participated to the *ḥb-sd* ceremony, suggesting the association of the *ḥ* with this royal rite. Studies of this position indicate that the *ḥrp ḥ*’s duties most probably involved the dressing of the king’s person.⁴³⁰ The New Kingdom instance of the great granite stele of vizier (*P*)*R’-ḥtp* JE 48845 (B.II.136) seems to confirm the *ḥ*’s connection with the celebration of the *Sed*-festival, even in more recent periods.⁴³¹

imy-r imyw ḥnt ‘3 n nb t3wy m ḥ ḥb-sd

Overseer of the *imyw ḥnt* (priestly title), great of the Lord of the Two Lands in the *ḥ* of the *ḥb-sd*⁴³²

⁴²⁶ Dorman 1988: Appendix 4: 213-19.

⁴²⁷ Examples of the title are known in the inscriptions of Niuserra: Kees 1923-28, III: 9-18. In Old Kingdom evidence the title is strictly connected with the *ḥb-sd*; men with this office participated to *ḥb-sd* ceremony, suggesting the link of the *ḥ* to this royal rite. Studies of this position indicate that the *ḥrp ḥ*’s duties most probably involved the dressing of the king’s person. Goelet 1986: 381.

⁴²⁸ Goelet 1982: 344.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*: 349.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*: 381.

⁴³¹ Helck 1958: 454.

⁴³² *Ibid.*: 454.

In this regard the connection of the *‘h* with the celebration of the *Sed*-festival is also suggested by title in stele Leiden 3.1.1.37 (B.II.120) *‘h* as *imy-r k3wt m hwt hb(w)-sd m ‘h n pr-nswt*, “overseer of the works in the temple of *Sed*-festivals in the *‘h* (and in the) *pr-nswt*”, where the word *pr-nswt* is exceptionally connected to the *hb-sd* together with the *‘h*.

In two Ramessid occurrences the title may appear in the extended compound “*pr hrp ‘h*”⁴³³ suggesting the existence of a separate residence specifically destined to the *hrp ‘h* in titles referring to Horus within the building: *Hr m pr hrp ‘h*, “Horus in the *pr hrp ‘h*” (offering table Turin 22053 - B.II.175); Inscriptions from the Gallery of the Kings of the temple of Sety I at Abydos (Abydos 3 - B.I.34).

The majority of titles containing the term *‘h* are not so illustrative of the functions performed by its officials such as:

- those compound with the word *imy/imy-r*

<i>w‘hr dfdw n imy(w) ‘h</i>	The one who is upon the pupils of those who are in the <i>‘h</i>	<i>‘Imn-htp</i> (Am. III)	CG 583	B.II.73
<i>w‘ty imyw ht ‘h</i>	Unique of the ones who are in the <i>‘h</i>	<i>Kn-‘Imn</i> (Am. II)	TT 93	B.II.52
<i>ib.i r wrw imyw ‘h</i>	My heart is to the greats who belong to the <i>‘h</i>	<i>‘Inny</i> (Am. I – Hatsh.)	TT 81	B.II.6
<i>imy-[ib] (m) imy ‘h</i>	One who protects who is in the <i>‘h</i>	<i>Hpw-snbw</i> (Thut. III – Hatsh.)	CG 648	B.II.21
		<i>Sn(i)-nfr</i> (Hatsh.)	TT 99	B.II.48
		<i>Rh-mi-r’</i> (Thut. III – Am. II.)	TT 100	B.II.33
<i>imy ‘h</i>	One who is in the <i>‘h</i>	? (Am. II)	pBoulaq 17	B.I.31
<i>imy-r i3wt ‘h</i>	Overseer of offices in the <i>‘h</i>	<i>Hrn-m-hb</i> (Tut.)	Saqqara 2	B.II.101

⁴³³ Leitz 2002, V: 257.

- variations introduced by *hry-ib*:

<i>hr hry-ib n imy 'h</i>	Favored of the one who is in the 'h	<i>Tn(w)-ny</i> (Thut. III – Thut. IV)	TT 74	B.II.38
<i>stp-s3w hry-ib imy 'h</i>	He who protects the inhabitants of the 'h	<i>Nb-sw-mnw</i> (Ram. II)	TT 183	B.II.139

- those compound with terms like *wr(w)*, “great/greats”, *smr(w)*, “companion/companions” and *špsī*, “noble”:

<i>wr wrw [...] 'h</i>	Greatest of the grandees [in the] 'h	Queen Nefertari (Ram. II)	CG 42154	B.I.51
<i>wr m 'h</i>	An important man in the 'h	<i>Sbk-htp</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 63	B.II.63
<i>h3ty-'n wrw 'h (m-b3h nswt)</i>	Leader of the greats of the 'h in the royal presence	<i>Nb-'Imn</i> (Sety I)	CG 1140	B.II.122
<i>wrw 'h</i>	The great ones of the 'h	<i>P3-sr-w</i> (Ram. II)	BM 687	B.II.135
		<i>Kn-'Imn</i> (Am. II)	TT 93	B.II.52
<i>hry-tp smr w 'h</i>	At the head of the companions of the 'h	<i>Sn(i)-nfr</i> (Hatsh.)	TT 99	B.II.48
<i>smr hrp 'h nswt</i>	Companion at the head of the 'h of the king	<i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.)	CG 579	B.II.47
<i>smr tpy hn.n hr m hnw 'h.f</i>	First companion who approaches Horus within his <i>hnw</i> 'h	<i>Nfr-shrw</i> (Am. III)	TT 107	B.II.85
<i>smr tkn 'k hr 'h</i>	Companion who approached and entered the 'h	<i>Nfr-shrw</i> (Am. III)	TT 107	B.II.85
<i>smrw imy 'h</i>	Companions who are in the 'h	<i>Hwy</i> (Tut.)	TT 40	B.II.103
<i>špsī htr(w) 'h.f (..) špsī sšm 'h</i>	Noble of what belongs to his 'h (..) noble at the guide of the 'h	<i>Dhwty</i> (Thut. III – Hatsh.)	TT 11	B.II.24
<i>st3 wrw r 'h nswt</i>	Drawing of the great ones at the 'h of the king	<i>Nb-'Imn</i> (Sety I)	CG 1140	B.II.122

Other titles simply underline the connection of the 'h with the king mentioned as *hm*, “Majesty”, *nswt*, “king” or *nb*, “Lord”:

- those containing causative verbs such as *shr*, *shpr*:

<i>s'3.n nb t3wy m 'h</i>	One whom the Lord of the Two Lands caused to be great in the 'h	<i>Hk3-r-nhh</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 64	B.II.56
<i>shri hm.f m 'h</i>	One who contented His Majesty in the 'h	<i>R'-htp</i> (Ram. II)	JE 48845	B.II.136
<i>shpr.n.f m hnw 'h.f</i>	Made in life by him in the <i>hnw</i> of his 'h	<i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III)	Bubastis	B.II.81

- titles such as *msdrwy/nhwy n nswt m 'h.f*, “ears of the King in his 'h” and variations:

<i>'nhwy Hr m 'h.f</i>	Ears of the Horus in his 'h	<i>'Imn-m-ipt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 96	B.II.26
<i>irty.f pw iw nswt m 'h.f</i>	One who was his eyes when the king was in the 'h	<i>Kn-'Imn</i> (Am. II)	TT 93	B.II.52

- other expressions that show the connection of the title owner with the king.

<i>im3hy hr nswt m 'h</i>	Revered one before the king in the 'h	<i>'Imn-m-ipt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 96	B.II.26
<i>ink t3wy n nb 'h</i>	One who unites the Two Lands for the Lord of the 'h	<i>Sn(i)-nfr</i> (Hatsh.)	TT 99	B.II.48
<i>whm(w) tpy nswt n imy-'h</i>	First royal herald of the one who is in the 'h	<i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III-IV)	TT 192	B.II.79
<i>mty m3' m b3h nb.f ir 3h n nb 'h(t) n-'3-n mnh.f n nswt</i>	Truly precise one in the presence of his Lord who did what is useful from the Lord of the 'h(t) as much as he was efficient for the king	<i>'Imn-m-ipt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 96	B.II.26
<i>kn rs-tp n nb 'h</i>	Brave, vigilant for the Lord of the 'h	<i>Nhy</i> (Thut. III)	Various	B.II.19

The term *‘h* appears also in conjunction with the concepts of justice (*m3’t*)⁴³⁴ and respect of laws (*hpw*)⁴³⁵ in the following prepositional passages:

<i>ir hpw n imy-r ‘h</i>	Respecting the laws of the overseer of the <i>‘h</i>	<i>‘Imn-htp</i> (Am. III)	CG 583	B.II.73
<i>‘k m hpw n imy ‘h</i>	One who obeys the laws of the one who is in the <i>‘h</i>	<i>‘Imn-m-hb</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 85	B.II.34
<i>wp m3’t m hrt-hrw hnk sy r ‘h n nb.s</i>	Dispenser of justice daily and who presents it to the <i>‘h</i> of its Lord	<i>R-ms(i)w</i> (Am. III-IV)	TT 55	B.II.84
<i>s’r m3’t r ‘h</i>	One who presents truth/acts rightfully towards the <i>‘h</i>	<i>Kn-‘Imn</i> (Am. II)	TT 93	B.II.52

The picture of the *‘h* as place of promulgation of laws and orders can also be found in official documents and especially in Horemheb’s decree (B.I.26), where the king says to have given orders (*tp-rd*) and laws (*hpw*) in the *‘h*:

II, 4) di.n.i tp-rd m hr.sn hpw m hrwy.sn imy [‘h] I gave orders to them and laws in their days in the [*‘h*]

Titles connected with administrative functions like *nswt sš m ‘h n nswy*, “royal scribe in the *‘h* of the king” and *htmw ‘h*, “sealer of the *‘h*” are very rare and like those sounding *hry-sšt3 stw ‘h/sšt3 hr m hnw ‘h*, “keeper of secrets in the *‘h*/the *hnw* of the *‘h*” and the variant (*ht*) *hr shrw ‘h*, “who keeps silence about the affair of the *‘h*” are most frequently compound with the term *pr-nswt*.⁴³⁶

Administrative titles compound with <i>‘h</i>				
<i>sš wdhw m ‘h n [nswt]</i>	Scribe of the table of offerings in the <i>‘h</i> of the [king]	<i>Nfr-sr-hrw</i> (19 th Dyn.)	Zawiet Sultan	B.II.175
<i>sš nswt m ‘h nswt</i>	Scribe of the royal <i>‘h</i>	<i>Nfr-sr-hrw</i> (Sety I)	Kom el-Ahmar	B.II.124
<i>sš nswt ‘bw-r m ‘h n nswt</i>	Royal scribe of the breakfast in the <i>‘h</i> of the king	<i>Nfr-sr-hrw</i> (19 th Dyn.)	Zawiet Sultan	B.II.175
<i>hry-sšt3 ‘h šps</i>	Keeper of secrets of the august <i>‘h</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i> (Ram. IX)	Sinai 302	B.II.165

⁴³⁴ For the concept of Ma’at see Assmann 1990: 200-12. Lichtheim 1992: 28, 31, 33-7.

⁴³⁵ GEG: 579. Wb II: 488.

⁴³⁶ See paragraph below: § 2.7.

<i>hry-sšt3 stw 'h</i>	Keeper of secrets in the offices of the 'h	<i>P3-nhsy</i> (Ram. II)	BM EA 1377	B.II.138
------------------------	--	--------------------------	------------	----------

When an official is described as “favored”, the term used is *hsl*,⁴³⁷ “to praise”, “to favor”, occurring primarily with reference to the king as *nswt, imy-'h* or *nb t3wy*.

<i>ir hsswt/hsst imy-'h (m hrt-hrw nt r' nb)</i>	One who did what is praised/favored within the 'h during the course of every day	<i>Sw-m-nwt</i> (Thut. III-Am.IV) <i>Kn-'lmn</i> (Am. II) <i>Sbk-htp</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 92 TT 93 TT 63	B.II.31 B.II.52 B.II.63
<i>'k r 'h pri hr hswt</i>	One who enters the 'h and comes forth bearing praises/favors	<i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III-IV) <i>R'-ms(i)w</i> (Am. III-IV)	TT 192 TT 55	B.II.79 B.II.84
<i>wr hswt m 'h n nswt 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Great of praises/favors in the 'h of the king	<i>Nht-min</i> (Am. III)	Cairo ?	B.II.65
<i>hsy n imy 'h</i>	Praised/favored one in the 'h	<i>'lmn-m-hb</i> (Thut. III – Am. II) <i>Hk3-r-nhh</i> (Thut. IV) <i>Tnwn3</i> (Thut. IV) <i>Sbk-htp</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 85 TT 64 TT 76 TT 63	B.II.34 B.II.55 B.II.56 B.II.63
<i>h[sy] n nb t3wy m 'h</i>	Praised/favored one of the Lord of the Two Lands of the 'h	<i>'lmn-htp</i> (Am. II)	TT C1	B.II.50

2.4 The term *pr-'3* in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

As suggested by a number of New Kingdom inscriptions, the middle of the 18th Dynasty witnessed the transition of *pr-'3* (from the 12th dynasty regularly provided with the formula *'nh wd3 snb*)⁴³⁸ as “Great House” or “palace” to *pr-'3* as “Pharaoh”.⁴³⁹ Considering the transformation of the meaning of the term from “palace” to “Pharaoh” and its high recurrence in texts, expressions and titles compound with this word have been selected

⁴³⁷ GEG: 579. Wb III: 159.

⁴³⁸ See paragraph above: § 1.10.

⁴³⁹ GEG: 75. Helck 1955: 112. Kruchten 1981: 28. For Middle Kingdom precursors of *pr-'3* as “Pharaoh” see Blumenthal 1970: 26 (1.24).

basing on their popularity and their significance in order to show this change in general terms. This section is not intended to be exhaustive regarding the use of term as “Pharaoh”, which exceeds the limits of this study.

In a Thutmosid ostrakon from Deir el-Bahari⁴⁴⁰ the term *pr-ʿ3* is written without the formula *ʿnh wd3 snb*. The hieroglyphic group of the *pr*-sign and the *ʿ3*-column is preceded by the *p3*-bird, the word *p3 pr-ʿ3* traditionally interpreted as “Pharaoh”.⁴⁴¹ The potsherd found within the tomb of *Sn-n-Mwt*, contains a list recording monthly contributions of workmen, materials or supplies for the preparation of the tomb. The contributors were the treasurer, *Sn-n-Mwt* himself, the estate of Queen Hatshepsut and the latter’s coregent, Thutmose III, here referred to as “Pharaoh”.⁴⁴²

In the Tempest Stele of Ahmose (B.I.2) from Karnak, the term still keeps its meaning of physical place to where the king - here described as incarnation of god Amun (*hm.f*) - sailed downstream (ll. 5-6). The identification of *pr-ʿ3* with a royal building is confirmed by lines 12-14 describing the arrival of the king to Thebes (*hnw W3st*) and his resting in the *hnw pr-ʿ3*, “the interior of the *pr-ʿ3*”, term *hnw* here meaning “interior/inside”. This text contains an explicit reference to the palace of Thebes here defined as a *pr-ʿ3*-palace.

The expression *Kmt idbw pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb*, “Egypt, the soil of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.”, in Thutmose III’s text inscribed on the walls of his Festival Hall at Karnak (B.I.5), in which the king manifests his gratitude to Amun for the great victory accorded to him at Megiddo, is one of the earliest example of *pr-ʿ3* as designation of the king.⁴⁴³

The final transformation of the term *pr-ʿ3* as “Pharaoh” can be recognized in some sources of the Amarna period, where the term is used as apposition of the dual word *pryt-*, the complete expression *pryt-pr-ʿ3* anticipating the *pr (n) pr-ʿ3*, “estate of the Pharaoh” fully developed in demotic texts of the Late Period.⁴⁴⁴ The compound is used in the earlier

⁴⁴⁰ Hayes 1960: 41, Pl. XI A (n° 14, 8 and 16).

⁴⁴¹ Wb I: 516.

⁴⁴² Hayes 1960: 42.

⁴⁴³ “My [Mayesty commanded] to institute new offerings to my father Amun-Ra..of the best of Egypt, the soil of the Pharaoh, into the granary of divine offerings..”. In this case the term *pr-ʿ3* is written in its traditional form with the following *ʿnh wd3 snb* but has to be translated as “Pharaoh”, in Gardiner 1952: 17, no. 1.

⁴⁴⁴ See paragraph below: § 2.4.

proclamation on the boundary stelae from the site of Tell el-Amarna (stele X, M and K)⁴⁴⁵ regarding the foundation of the new city of Akhetaten (B.I.19):

- l. 16) n t3 n 'ltn p3 nbw m 3ht-'ltn m t3 st ir.i pr-
h'y n p3 'ltn* In the Island of Aten, whose jubilees are distinguished at 3ht-'ltn in this place shall I make the House of Rejoicing for the Aten, my father.
- l. 17) m 3ht-'ltn ir.i n.i pryt pr-'3'nh wd3 snb ir.i
pryt n t3 hmt nswt* (And) at 3ht-'ltn in this place shall I make for myself the pryt of Pharaoh, I. p. h. (and) I shall make the pryt of the King's Chief Wife".

A similar expression is given in the letter from the steward of Memphis 'lpy to the king Amenhotep IV from Gurob (B.II.89), which contains also a probable reference to a *d[m] pr-'3*, "qu[arter of the Pha]raoh" suggesting the unique translation of "Pharaoh" for the word *pr-'3*:

- l. 9-11) [pw n nb.i 'nh wd3 snb r rdit] rh tw [r nty]
p3 r pr n itf.k Pth rswt inb.f nb 'nh-t3wy 'dw
w[d3 p3 pr] pr-'3 'nh wd3 snb, m šs n p3 n pryt
pr-'3 'nh wd3 snb m šs p3 d[m] pr-'3 'nh wd3 snb
snb m šsw snbw (..)* [This is (a communication?) to My Lord, I. p. h]. to let One (the King) know that the temple of you father Ptah, South of His Wall, the Lord of 'nh-t3wy, is prosperous and flour[ishing; that the house] of Pharaoh, I. p. h. is in good order; that the p3 n pryt of the Pharaoh, I. p. h. is in good order; and that the qu[arter of the Pha]raoh, I. p. h. is in good order and security (..)

In an ostrakon from Amarna (B.II.91), the prepositional compound *r pr-'3* after the verb *dī*, "to give", introduces a list of goods delivered to the king by the hand of the servitor *Hr-nht* (*d3t sdm-š Hr-nht*):

- dī r pr-'3 'nh wd3 snb d3t sdm-š Hr-nht irp nfry
hr 3'' mn-krht 4 [..] ms-h3r1 t3-nbt1 išs m [..] ms-
h3r* Given to the *pr-'3*, I. p. h., by the hand of the servitor *Hr-nht*, very good wine in jars, 4 *mn*-vessels, of the capacity of (?), *mn*-vessels (..) together with 1 *ms*-basket, 1 *t3*-container with (?) *ms*-basket

The interpretation of the term in this specific context is ambiguous since it could be referred both to the person of the "Pharaoh" as well as to a physical place where goods were delivered.

In Horemheb's decree (B.I.26) the term *pr-'3* means "Pharaoh" in more than one occasion, in contexts where it follows verbs such as *šms*, "to follow/serve/accompany"⁴⁴⁶ that expect

⁴⁴⁵ Murnane - Van Siclen 1993: 69-109, pls. 2-12, 22, 23A, 31B, 32. Davies 1903-8, 5: 28-31, pls. 29-32, 37-38. URK IV: 1965-80 (749). Sandman 1938: 103-118. Breasted 1906-7: 2: 394-400.

⁴⁴⁶ GEG: 595. Wb IV: 482-3.

a person as “direct object”. In the first section of the text, the *nmhyt*-people⁴⁴⁷ are called to build a boat to be able to serve Pharaoh:

I, §1, 13) <i>ir ury n.f p3 nmhy w' n 'h'w hr t3y.f tnfyt r rh šms pr-3 'nh wd3 snb] (..) sdm š [n 't hnkt n pr-3 'nh wd3 snb]</i>	The private persons build for him a boat on his tent to be able to serve the <i>pr-3</i> , l. [p. h.] (..) serving (hearing the calling) [in the storehouse of the offerings of the <i>pr-3</i> , l. p. h.]
--	---

Two other instances show the same usage of the word few lines later in the text:

I, §2, 17) <i>wnn.f hr šm[s pr-3 'nh wd3 snb]</i>	He is on to accompany [the <i>pr-3</i> , l. p. h.]
I, §2, 20) <i>iri.f [šms pr-3 'nh wd3 snb]</i>	He makes [to accompany the <i>pr-3</i> , l. p. h.]

In the section of the same text regarding the abolition of the contribution for supplying the royal docks introduced by Thutmose III, *pr-3* is the direct object of another verb *mkī*, “to guard”,⁴⁴⁸ which allows again the unique translation of *pr-3* as “Pharaoh” in this specific context (CAT: I, §5, 29):

I, §5, 29) <i>'lmi tw p3 nkt n t3 wdyt wsf(w) hr mki pr-3 hr irt t3 wdyt n hb ip3t tnw rnpt iw n(n) wsf tw.tw hr grg r-h3t pr-3</i>	Therefore give the contribution to the expedition, not paid, to guard the <i>pr-3</i> to make the journey of the Opet Festival, every years, without his missing, to prepare in anticipation of the arrival of the <i>pr-3</i> . ⁴⁴⁹
---	---

The association of the term *pr-3* with the motion expression *r h3t*, “in front of”⁴⁵⁰ confirms the “Pharaoh” rendering. The setting is the Opet Festival during which the Pharaoh traveled to the temple of Luxor at Thebes: here his father Amun gave him the powers of kingship as the living Horus.⁴⁵¹ Similarly the expression *ssnb pr-3 'nh wd3 snb*, “one who makes be healthy the *pr-3*, l. p. h.” from the private inscription of *R'-ms(i)w*'s tomb TT 55 (B.II.84), where *pr-3* is the object of the causative verb *ssnb*, “to make be healthy”, suggests the translation “Pharaoh” for the term.

In another passage of the first section of Horemheb's decree (B.I.26) the term *pr-3* is again linked to the word *'h'w*, “boats”, which are said to be provided for the *W'bwt swt pr-3*:

⁴⁴⁷ For the translation of *nmhyt* as “personne privée” see Kruchten 1981: 31-32.

⁴⁴⁸ GEG: 570. Wb II: 160.

⁴⁴⁹ Translation in Kruchten 1981: 98.

⁴⁵⁰ GEG: 580; §178.

⁴⁵¹ Spalinger 2000: 521.

l, §1, 15) ḫr 'h[w] nb nty ḫtr r n3 n W'bwt swt pr- '3 'nh wd3 snb As for any boat that is put to work for the benefit of W'bwt of the *pr- '3*, l. p. h.⁴⁵²

As pointed out by Kruchten, the term *w'bwt*⁴⁵³ indicates a place to perform several activities and therefore difficult to define with a specific translation; according to the author, it was an area annexed to the temple or the palace for all the physical operations of preparation of food generally intended for ritual aims.⁴⁵⁴ In this case *pr- '3 'nh wd3 snb* could refer to the royal building where the *W'bwt* was physically located.

According to Kruchten, in the repeated expression *wnn n3 n sdm [š] n 't ḫnkt pr- '3*, “those who are to serve⁴⁵⁵ in the storehouse of the offerings of the *pr- '3*” (B.I.26: I, §1, 13; I, §2, 17, 19; I, §3, 21; I, §4, 25), the *'t ḫnkt*⁴⁵⁶ *pr- '3* would indicate a place where the offerings had to be presented in name of the Pharaoh or a store located in the palace.⁴⁵⁷ In this case the term *pr- '3* would indicate both the recipient of the *ḫnkt*, fitting the meaning “Pharaoh”, and the place where offerings were delivered, suggesting a “palace” rendering.

The title *wnn p3 ḫmy-r ḫw n pr- '3* is repeated twice in the text (B.I.26: I, §4, 25-26)⁴⁵⁸ referring to people carrying on the inspection (*ḫrw*) of the cattle of the complete country:

l, §4, 26) wnn p3 ḫmy-r ḫw n pr- '3 'nh wd3 snb ḫr šmt r ḫrt ḫrw m t3 r-dr.f The overseer of the herds of the *pr- '3*, l. p. h., arrive to make the inspection in the whole land⁴⁵⁹

The *ḫw n pr- '3* would be the herds belonging to the palace as personal property of the king.⁴⁶⁰

In the section of the composition (B.I.26) regarding the abolition of the tax on fodder for the benefit of *W'bwt* of the *pr- '3*, the term *pr- '3* is again connected to this institution:⁴⁶¹

l, §6, 31) m-mitt n3 n t3 smw n n3 n W'bwt swt [pr- '3 'nh wd3 snb] Those who collect the fodder for the *W'bwt* of the *[pr- '3]*, l. p. h.]

l, §6, 32) ḫw.w r p3 b3k n [pr- '3] 'nh wd3 snb It (the fodder) will be for the tax of the *[pr- '3]*, l. p. h.

⁴⁵² Translation in Kruchten 1981: 98.

⁴⁵³ Wb I: 284.

⁴⁵⁴ Kruchten 1981: 42-44.

⁴⁵⁵ Literally “those who hear the calling”: for the translation of the expression *n3 n sdm[š]* see Kruchten 1981: 62, A.

⁴⁵⁶ According to Kruchten, the term *ḫnkt* is generally employed to express the offerings destined to the god or the Pharaoh, in Kruchten 1981: 62.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: 62, B

⁴⁵⁸ URK IV: 2148, 8; 2149, 1.

⁴⁵⁹ Translation in Kruchten 1981: 98.

⁴⁶⁰ The title has been translated by Kruchten “the overseer of the herds of the Pharaoh”, in *Ibid.*: 82.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*: 118.

I, §6, 33) [irry n3 n t3 smw n n3 n W'bwat swt pr-'3 šmt] r t3 smw [r p3] b3k n pr-'3 'nh wd3 snb m n3 n 'wt n ht hn' n3 n t3t(?) n n3 n pryt pr-'3 'nh wd3 snb [..]n pr-'3 nty hr smw

Those who produce the fodder for the W'bwat of the pr-'3 go to collect the fodder [for the] tax of the pr-'3, l. p. h., in the herd together with fodder of the areas of the pr-'3, l. p. h. [...] in the pr-'3, l. p. h., who are assigned to the fodder

All this section refers to the production of fodder as an activity connected to the W'bwat swt pr-'3 where the term pr-'3 might be intended as the physical place where the W'bwat was located. The delivery of the b3kw⁴⁶² could be destined to pr-'3 as both the actual royal building and the king's person.

Section R5 of Rh-mi-r's inscription (B.II.33) describes the entering of the vizier in the pr-'3 to greet the king, here referred to as "Lord" (nb):

R5, (...) 'k.f grt r nd-ht nb 'nh wd3 snb iw smi(w) n.f hrt t3wy m pr.f r' nb 'k.f r pr-'3 hft imy-r htm 'h'f r snt mhtt [h]r mnmn t3ty m wbn m p3 sb3 n rwti wrty hr

Now he shall enter to greet the Lord, l. p. h., each day when the affairs of the Two Lands have been reported to him in his residence. He shall enter the pr-'3 when the overseer of the treasury has drawn up his position at the northern flagstaff. Then the vizier shall move (in) from the east in the doorway of the great double-gate.

Van de Boorn has interpreted this passage locating the pr-'3 at the back of the pr-nswt: according to this author, the entering of the vizier in the pr-'3 to meet the king happens only after him having received report on the condition of the pr-nswt in the pr-nswt itself. This sequence of facts suggests the author to explain the pr-'3 as royal living quarters or private residence, as distinct from pr-nswt, the official royal residence at large.⁴⁶³ The pr-'3 itself is described by Van de Boorn as a complex equipped with a "doorway of the great double gates" (sb3 n rwti wrty)⁴⁶⁴ with two flagstaffs in front of it.⁴⁶⁵ In his review of Van de Boorn's interpretation of *The Duties*, Lorton states that the context of this session "actually cannot indicate an immediate entry in the pr-'3" after the report to the vizier "since it is followed by a conversation between the vizier and the treasury".⁴⁶⁶ He stresses "the lack of

⁴⁶² Wb I: 428-29. For a detailed analysis of the usage of the term see Bleiberg 1981: 107 ff. and Bleiberg 1988: 157 ff.

⁴⁶³ Van de Boorn 1989: 59.

⁴⁶⁴ According to Van de Boorn's interpretation, text refers that the vizier exchanges the last up-dated reports and information at the doorway of the rwti wrty of the pr-'3 before entering it to pay his respect to the king. *Ibid.*: 66.

⁴⁶⁵ "We take the snt mhtt here as belonging to the pr-'3, the building which the vizier enters when the overseer of the treasury has drawn up his position at the northern flagstaff", in *Ibid.*: 63.

⁴⁶⁶ Lorton 1991: 291.

temporary sequence”, suggesting its correspondence to “a lack of spatial sequence”. It is only after having entered the *pr-ʿ3* that the vizier moves to the *sb3 n rwtj wrty*, which could be taken as the door of the *pr-nswt*.⁴⁶⁷ Against Van de Boorn’s interpretation, the direction of the vizier’s movement should be interpreted from the *pr-nswt* to the *pr-ʿ3*, rather than from the *pr-ʿ3* to the *pr-nswt*. According to this re-interpretation of the passage, the *pr-ʿ3* cannot longer be intended as inner section of the *pr-nswt*, being more likely the opposite. The *pr-ʿ3* is the building to where the vizier moves for his audience in front of the king, and is mentioned only in this passage of the text. The occasion of the mention would seem to suggest the connection, in the Egyptians’ mind, between the *pr-ʿ3* as physical place and the king as person.

The usage of the original meaning of *pr-ʿ3* as royal building is attested until the Ramessid Period, when the term is interchangeable with *ʿh*. In the inscriptions from the Osiris Suite of the temple of Sety I at Abydos (B.I.32), for example, the same expression can be compound with both *pr-ʿ3* and *ʿh*:

irt n.f pr-ʿ3 ir n.f s3 RʿMrī n-Pth

The making for him of a *pr-ʿ3* made for him by the son of Ra, Sety I Merenptah

or

irt n.f ʿh ir n.f s3 RʿMrī n-Pth

The making for him of a *ʿh* made for him by the son of Ra, Sety I Merenptah

In this context, both *pr-ʿ3* and *ʿh* refer to palaces for gods, being used repeatedly as synonymous of the term *hwt*, and being located respectively *r sb3 dw3t ntrw*, “at the portal of the Netherworld of the gods” (B.I.32: Column 5, 165,12) and *hr st ʿht n ddt*, “in a place glorious forever” (B.I.32: Column 8, 165, 6). The *ʿh* is described as being constructed of white limestone (*m inr hḏ nfr*), a material specifically used for religious buildings in Egypt, unlike mud-brick, used exclusively for civil architecture.

One feature of the term *pr-ʿ3* is its rarity in narrative texts, unless it is part of an official title; there are in fact only few instances in which the word is used as an independent word in narrative inscriptions such as the Horemheb’s decree and the *Duties of the Vizier*, so that

⁴⁶⁷ See paragraph below: § 2.6.

these citations have a great significance in any attempt at understanding the meaning of the term.⁴⁶⁸

Variability in interpretation and translation of the word in different contexts is a meaningful factor to understand the nature of the term *pr-ʿ3*. The possibility that the same word can refer both to the figure of the king as to the royal palace suggests alone the nature and meaning of *pr-ʿ3*, perhaps intended to indicate the royal building in its most generic and widest sense and its strict relationship with the king. Its intrinsic association with the figure of the king may be the reason that would have got the term to mean the “Pharaoh” himself on the course of time.

2.5 The term *pr-ʿ3* in titles and epithets

There are several examples of titles compound with *pr-ʿ3* in both official and private texts. They mostly refer to specific offices held by the owner in departments of the *pr-ʿ3* such as the *šnwt pr-ʿ3*, “the granary of the *pr-ʿ3*” or the *pr-ḥd pr-ʿ3*, “the treasury⁴⁶⁹ of the *pr-ʿ3*”. This group of titles, which includes a series of Late New Kingdom examples from the reign of Amenhotep III to the Ramessid Period, refers to the *pr-ʿ3* as a type of administrative entity. Other institutions such as the *ʿt*, “chamber or storeroom”⁴⁷⁰ and the *p3 ḥpš*, “armory”⁴⁷¹ can be related to the *pr-ʿ3* in *imy-r*-compound titles.

Offices in the <i>pr-ḥd</i> or <i>šnwt</i> departments of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>				
<i>imy-r pr-ḥd n pr-ʿ3</i> (<i>ʿnh wd3 snb</i>)	Overseer of the treasury of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> (l. p. h.)	? (Merenptah) ? (Ram. IX) ? (Ram. IX) <i>ʿImn-ḥtp</i> (Ram. IX)	pChester Beatty III pBM 10221 – pAbbot pBM 10052 Karnak 14	B.I.64 B.I.76 B.I.80 B.II.168
<i>imy-r pr-ḥd n pr-ʿ3</i> <i>ʿnh wd3 snb</i>	Overseer of the treasury of the estate of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	? (Ram. XI)	pBM 10383	B.I.82
<i>imy-r pr-ḥd n t3 st 3šw pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of the treasury in the	<i>Pi3y</i> (Ram. XI)	Buhen 2	B.II.148

⁴⁶⁸ Goelet 1982: 542.

⁴⁶⁹ Literally “the White House” in GEG: 565; Wb I: 518.

⁴⁷⁰ Wb I: 160.

⁴⁷¹ Wb III: 268: *ḥpš* as “army” with article *p3* from the New Kingdom onwards.

	record office of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>			
<i>imy-r hmwt n p3 ḥpš n pr-ʿ3 ‘nh wd3 snb</i>	Overseer of the treasuries/enclosures of the armory of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	? (Merenptah)	pBologna 1094	B.I.65
<i>imy-r ḥtmwt m t3 ḥwt nt pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of the treasuries/enclosures in the <i>ḥwt</i> of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Am. III)	Malkata 2	B.I.18
<i>imy-r šnwty n pr-ʿ3 ‘nh wd3 snb</i>	Overseer of the granaries of the Pharaoh, l. p. h.	<i>P3-‘nh</i> (Ram. XI)	Abydos 7	B.II.170
		<i>P3-‘nh</i> (Ram. XI)	CG 25745	B.II.173
		? (20 th Dyn.)	oCG 25745	B.II.180
<i>imy-r šnwty m šnwwt nt Pr-ʿ3 ‘nh wd3 snb</i>	Overseer of the two granaries of the granaries of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	? (19 th Dyn.)	Liverpool Museum M. 11162 M. 11186	B.I.85
<i>idnw n pr-ḥd n pr-ʿ3</i>	Deputy of the treasury of <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Ḥri</i> (19 th Dyn.)	BM 132	B.II.180
		? (Merenptah)	pChest Beat. III	B.III.3
<i>idnw n3 n imntyw pr-ḥd n pr-ʿ3 ‘nh wd3 snb</i>	Deputy of the western treasury of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>M’i3</i> (Am. III)	Saqqara	B.II.79
<i>wr pr-ḥd n pr-ʿ3</i>	Great one of the treasury of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (18 th Dyn.)	pTurin	B.I.61
<i>ḥry iṛy sšw n prwy ḥd n pr-ʿ3</i>	Chief archivist of <i>pr-ʿ3</i> 's treasury	<i>Pn-p3-t3</i> (Ram. II)	Tod	B.II.159
<i>ḥry s3w sšw n pr-ḥd (n) pr-ʿ3</i>	Chief of record-keepers of the treasury of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Merenptah)	pSallier I	B.I.69
<i>ḥry s3w sšw n t3 st t3 šnwt pr-ʿ3</i>	Chief of record-keepers of the office of the granary of <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Sety II)	pAnastasi VI	B.I.71
		? (19 th Dyn.)	pTurin A	B.I.86
<i>ḥry t3 ‘t pr-ʿ3 m nhwt rsyt</i>	Chief of the chamber/storeroom of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> in the Southern City	<i>Sny-nfr</i> (Am.II)	Silsileh 11	B.II.49
<i>ḥsb it m šnwt pr-ʿ3 ‘nh wd3 snb</i>	Counter of grain in the granary of divine offerings of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>’Imn-m-ḥ3t</i> (Thut. III)	TT 82	B.II.16
<i>ḥw n pr-ʿ3 imy-r šnwty n pr-ʿ3</i>	Fan-bearer of the Pharaoh, overseer of the granaries of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Ram. IX)	pTurin 1930/2050+2013	B.I.75
<i>sš n imy-r pr-ḥd pr-ʿ3 ‘nh wd3 snb</i>	Scribe of the overseer of the treasury of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	? (Sety II)	pAnastasi VI	B.I.71
<i>sš n p3 imy-r pr-ḥd n pr-ʿ3 ‘nh wd3 snb</i>	Scribe of the overseer of the double treasury of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	? (Ram. IX)	pAbbott BM 10221	B.I.76

<i>sš n p3 ḥpš n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb</i>	Scribe of the workshop of the armory of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	? (Merenptah)	pBologna 1094	B.I.65
<i>sš n šnwt pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb</i>	Scribe of the granary of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>ḥʿ-m-ḥ3t</i> (Am. III)	TT 57	B.II.75
<i>sš ḥsb it n šnwt pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb</i>	Scribe and reckoner of the grain of the granary of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>ḥʿ-m-ḥ3t</i> (Am. III)	TT 57	B.II.75
<i>sšw p3 šnwt n pr-ʿ3</i>	Scribes of the granaries of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Ram. IX)	pTurin 1930/2050+2013	B.I.75

Other titles refer to the profession held by the owner rather than to the department where he worked: the “overseer of the herds” (*imy-r iḥw*), “the overseer of the bowmen” (*imy-r pḏtyw*), the “cultivators” (*iḥwtw*), the “butler” (*wb3*), the “sailor” (*wʿw*), the “door-opener” (*wn-ʿ3*), the “herald” (*wḥmw*), the “stable-master” (*ḥry-iḥw*), the “sealer” (*ḥtm*), the “washerman” (*rḥtyw*), the “butler” (*wḏpw*),⁴⁷² the “skipper” (*wḥmw*), the “scribe” (*sš*), the “servant” (*sḏm ʿš*) or the “fan-bearer” (*ḥw*).

Offices held by the title owner in the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>				
<i>imy-r iḥw n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb</i>	Overseer of the herds of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	Horemheb	Dupl. CG 34162	B.I.26
<i>imy-r iḥw nḥt n n3 mnmnt n pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of the herds of <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Ram. II)	pGurob BB	B.I.63
<i>imy-r pḏtyw pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of the bowmen of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>P3-ʿnh</i> (Ram. XI)	Abydos 7	B.II.172
<i>iḥwtw n t3 mīnt pr-ʿ3</i>	Cultivators of the <i>mīnt</i> -fields of <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Merenptah)	pBologna 1094	B.I.65
<i>ʿ3 pḏtyw pr-ʿ3</i>	Great of bowmen of <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>S-w3s</i> (Am. III – Horem.)	JE 46600	B.II.107
<i>wʿw n t3 ḥnyt pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb</i>	Sailor of the boat’s contingent of <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Dḥwtw-msw</i> (Am. II)	BM 365	B.II.70
<i>wb3 n pr-ʿ3</i>	Butler of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Sety II) ? (Ram. IX)	pAnastasi V pAbbot BM 10221	B.I.70 B.I.76
<i>wb3 nswt ʿ3 n ʿhnkt pr-ʿ3</i>	Chief royal butler in the kitchen of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Bn-ītn</i> (Ram. II)	CG 372417	B.II.155
<i>wn-ʿ3 m nīwt m pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb</i>	Door opener in the city with <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>ḥʿ-m-ḥ3t</i> (Am. III)	TT 181	B.II.76
<i>wḥmw n pr-ʿ3</i>	Herald of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Ram. IX)	pAbbott BM	B.I.76

⁴⁷² Wb I: 388.

			10221	
<i>wḏpw n pr-ʿ3 n nbw ḥḏ</i>	Butler of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> of gold and silver	<i>ʿImn-ḥtp</i> (Ram. IX)	Karnak 14	B.II.168
<i>nfw n pr-ʿ3</i>	Skipper of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (19 th Dyn.)	Hildesheim 401	B.II.177
<i>ḥ3tyw n n3 pḏt pr-ʿ3</i>	Chief of the troops of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	Ram. XI	pTurin 1896+2006	B.I.83
<i>ḥ3ty-ʿ n pḏtyw pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Chief of bowmen of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>S-w3s</i> (18 th Dyn.) <i>Hr</i> (19-20 th Dyn.)	JE 46600 JE 41664	B.II.179
<i>ḥry ḥw wʿ šmsw pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Stable-master, or a retainer of <i>pr-ʿ3</i> l. p. h.	? (19 th Dyn.)	pTurin A	B.I.86
<i>ḥry n p3 s3w n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Chief of the regiment of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Dd(w)</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 200	B.II.25
<i>ḥtm n3y m pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Sealer of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Ḥwy</i> (Tut.)	TT 40	B.II.103
<i>rḥtyw pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Washerman of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	? (Sety II)	?	B.III.2
<i>sš n p3 ḥtr n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Scribe of the horse-team of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>T3</i> (Ram. II)	BM 5514	B.II.144
<i>sš n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Scribe of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	? (18 th Dyn.) ? (Ram. IX) ? (Ram. IX) ? (Ram. IX) ? (Ram. XI) ? (Ram. XI) <i>Ḥrī</i> (Ram. VIII) <i>ʿImn-ḥtp</i> (Ram. IX)	pTurin (a) pAbbott BM 10221 pLeopold II pAmherst pBM 10052 pBM 10054 Berlin 2081 Karnak 14	B.I.61 B.I.76 B.I.77 B.I.79 B.I.80 B.I.81 B.II.166 B.II.168
<i>sš nswt t3 šʿt n pr-ʿ3</i>	Royal secretary of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>Pth-mrī</i> (Ram. II)	Abydos 6	B.II.154
<i>(sš) n t3 st n 3šʿw pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Scribe in this dispatch of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Nfr-ḥr</i> (Ram. II)	Buhen 1	B.II.147
<i>sš šʿt n pr-ʿ3</i>	Letter writer of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (19-20 th Dyn.)	pTurin B	B.I.84
<i>sḏm ʿš n pr-ʿ3</i>	Servant (lit. one who hears the calling) of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>ʿImn-ms(y)</i> (Ram. II)	TT 19	B.II.153
<i>sḏm ʿš (nb) n ʿt ḥnkt n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Servant (lit. one who hears (every) calling) for ʿt offerings at the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	Horemheb	Dupl. CG 34162	B.I.26
<i>sḏmw (ʿš) pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>	Servants of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Mrī-ʿImn</i> (19 th Dyn.)	Hildesheim 1077	B.II.178

<i>t3y-md3t n h̄mw n pr-ʿ3 n̄h wd3 snb</i>	Engraver of carpenter's shop of <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Hrw.f</i> (18 th Dyn. ?)	Sinai 234	B.II.112
<i>t3w h̄w n p3 s3 n pr-ʿ3 n̄h wd3 snb</i>	Fan-bearer of the filiation of <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Dw3</i> (?) (18 th Dyn. ?)	CG 34093	B.II.113

The majority of these titles are mentioned in administrative papyri concerning the tomb-robberies of the late Ramessid Period at Thebes.⁴⁷³ The occupations listed above were held by officials who would have been primarily employed in the service of the private person of the king as well as in a physical building, being uncertain whether the *pr-ʿ3* would represent some kind of palace or the king's person. It is possible to observe a kind of inflation in official titles modified with the word *pr-ʿ3*. In the New Kingdom inscriptions, the aim would seem to claim some form of generic attachment of the title owner to the palace and the king's person. In his study on Old Kingdom terminology for "palace", Goelet had observed a similar process in titles dated from the 6th Dynasty, when "the terms *pr-ʿ3* arises in a significant percentage of titling to such an extent, that the word seems to have lost much of its validity".⁴⁷⁴

Although the term *pr-ʿ3* is primarily used in titles pertaining to civil matters, there are few *pr-ʿ3*-compounds that may be related to functions that were of ritual nature and were involved with escort and other service to the person of the king. This kind of titles is often connected with the mortuary temple of the king (*n h̄h n rnpwt n pr-ʿ3*).⁴⁷⁵ Priesthood, escorts and other ritual positions were related to the *pr-ʿ3* since the Old Kingdom onwards.⁴⁷⁶ In this titles the term *pr-ʿ3* would seem to be a circumlocution for the king himself.

The <i>pr-ʿ3</i> in expressions with religious nature				
<i>h̄mw wr n p3 wi3 n Sh̄mt m p3 š n pr-ʿ3</i>	Great steering oar of the boat of <i>Sh̄mt</i> in the lake of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>'lwnn</i> (Thut. IV?)	BM 1332	B.II.108
<i>t3w h̄w n p3 s3 n pr-ʿ3 n̄h wd3 snb</i>	Fan-bearer of the filiation of <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Dw3</i> (?) (18 th Dyn.?)	CG 34093	B.II.113
<i>imy-r h̄tmwt m t3 h̄wt nt pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of the treasuries/enclosures in the <i>h̄wt</i> of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Am. III)	Malkata 2	B.I.18

⁴⁷³ Peet 1930.

⁴⁷⁴ Goelet 1982: 625.

⁴⁷⁵ Ullmann 2002.

⁴⁷⁶ Goelet 1982: 585.

<i>imy-r ḥtmwt m t3 ḥwt nt pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of the treasuries/enclosures in the <i>ḥwt</i> of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Am. III)	Malkata 2	B.I.18
<i>imy-r k3wt n t3 ḥwt pr-ʿ3 m 3bdw</i>	Overseer of the workmen in the land of the <i>ḥwt</i> of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Nfr-ḥ3t</i> (Thut. IV)	BM 148	B.II.59
<i>iry n pr ḥr ʿ3 šps n pr-ʿ3</i>	Guardian of the great and noble necropolis of <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (20 th Dyn.)	pBibl.Nat. 196	B.I.90
<i>bḥk m p3 ḥr n pr-ʿ3</i>	Servant in the necropolis of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Ram. IX)	pTurin 2074	B.I.78
<i>ḥm-ntr (i)my-r pr n t3 ḥwt pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb</i>	Prophet and steward of the <i>ḥwt</i> of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Mry-Pth</i> (Am. III)	Malkata	B.II.77
<i>ḥry md3 wʿ3 n p3 ḥr ʿ3 špsy n ḥḥ n rnpwt n pr-ʿ3</i>	Great chief of police of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Years of <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (Ram. IX)	pLeopold II	B.I.77
<i>ḥḥ(w) rnpwt n pr-ʿ3</i>	(House) of the Million Years of the <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	? (18 th Dyn.)	pTurin	B.I.61
<i>sš n pr ḥr ʿ3 šps ḥḥ rnpwt n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb</i>	Scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Million Years of <i>pr-ʿ3</i> , l. p. h.	? (19-20 th Dyn.) ? (20 th Dyn.)	pGriffith pBibl. Nat. 196	B.I.87 B.I.90
<i>(Dḥwty) sš m st ʿšwt pr-ʿ3</i>	Thoth, scribe in the place of the record office <i>pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>T3y</i> (Merenptah)	TT 23	B.II.156

The expression *Šḥmt m p3 š n pr-ʿ3* in the stele of *ʿIwnn* BM 1332 (B.II.108) might be referred to a specific aspect of the goddess Sekhmet, although it is unclear whether the lake is or not an actual body of water used during a specific ceremony, this passage is an evidence that *pr-ʿ3* was occasionally associated with a *š*⁴⁷⁷ with religious connotation.⁴⁷⁸ The compound *ḥwt n pr-ʿ3* makes suppose a connection of a temple or a shrine with *pr-ʿ3*, probably referring here to the Pharaoh as a person. The expression in the same monument *ḥwt n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb m 3bdw* (B.II.108) might refer to the mortuary temple of the king, the term *pr-ʿ3* apparently having a distinct religious aspect since the earliest phase of the

⁴⁷⁷ Word *š* could mean a number of different things: “lake”, “district”, “garden”. GEG: 593. Wb IV: 397-8.

⁴⁷⁸ The phrase *š pr-ʿ3* occurs in an epithet of the god Ra on a stone vessel found at Byblos bearing the name of the 5th Dynasty monarch Unas: “The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Unas, living forever, beloved of Ra upon the lake of the *pr-ʿ3*” and in the biography of the 5th Dynasty official *Pth-w3š*, where recurs the same form of the god, “Ra upon the lake of the *pr-ʿ3*”. Goelet 1982: 545-546.

Egyptian History.⁴⁷⁹ Explicit references to the “Necropolis of Million Years of the Pharaoh” (*pr hr '3 šps hh rnpwt n pr-'3*) are contained in Papyrus Turin (B.I.61), Papyrus Bibl. Nat. 196 (B.I.90), Papyrus Griffith (B.I.87), Papyrus Abbott (B.I.76) and Papyrus Leopold II (B.I.77), all mentioning some of the officials working within it: *sš n pr hr '3 šps hh rnpwt n pr-'3*, “the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Million Years of the Pharaoh”, *hry md3 w'3 n p3 hr '3 špsy n hh n rnpwt n pr-'3*, “the great chief of police of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Years of the Pharaoh” and *iry n pr hr '3 šps n pr-'3*, “the guardian of the great and noble Necropolis of the Pharaoh”.

Most generic titles and expressions such as *s3w n/r pr-'3 'nh wd3 snb*, “men of rank in/for the *pr-'3*, l. p. h.” in *Sn(w)-ims'*s stele CG 27815 (B.II.7) probably had an honorary function, without expressing any specific office connected to the royal palace.

The transformation of the meaning of the term culminates in the adoption of a specific compound to indicate the royal building, as distinct from the single word *pr-'3*: *pr pr-'3/ pr n pr-'3*, literally translated “estate of the *pr-'3*”, where *pr-'3* must be intended here as “Pharaoh”:

<i>pr pr-'3 - pr n pr-'3</i>				
<i>imy-r pr-hd n pr pr-'3 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Overseer of the treasury of the estate of the <i>pr-'3</i> , l. p. h.	? (Ram. XI)	pBM 10383	B.I.82
<i>imy-r pr n 't pr-'3</i>	Overseer of the estate of the room of the <i>pr-'3</i>	<i>Hr-m-hb</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 78	B.II.57
<i>imy-r pr pr-'3</i>	Overseer of the estate of the <i>pr-'3</i>	<i>H'-m-h3t</i> (Am. III)	TT 57	B.II.75
<i>imy-r gs pr n pr-'3</i>	Overseer of the side of the estate of the <i>pr-'3</i>	<i>H'-m-h3t</i> (Am. III)	TT 57	B.II.75
<i>hmt n m sb3wy n p3 pr n pr-'3 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Copper belonging to the doors of the estate of the <i>pr-'3</i> , l. p. h.	? (Ram. XI)	pBM 10383	B.I.82
<i>sš n p3 pr n pr-'3</i>	Scribe of the estate of the <i>pr-'3</i>	? (Ram. IX)	pBM 10053	B.I.74

The expression *pr n pr-'3* starts to appear in private inscriptions from the reign of Amenhotep III and continues to be used until the late Ramessid Period, it will become the

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*: 644-645.

normal expression for “palace” in demotic texts, being used in a wide range of contexts, referring to the concept of “royal court” or, in other cases, to the royal building itself.⁴⁸⁰

2.6 The term *pr-nswt* in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

The term *pr-nswt* is one of the most common of the five words for “palace” and it appears in a wide range of contexts. It occurs frequently as an independent word in narrative and administrative texts, such as the aforementioned inscription from *Rḥ-mi-r*’s tomb, *the Duties of the Vizier* (B.II.33), one of the most informative text in this respect.

One of the most meaningful sections of the text are the 2nd and the 3rd, describing the exchange of reports between the treasurer (*iṃy-r ḥtm*) and the vizier (*t3ty*).

<p>R3, <i>smi.tw n.f ḥtm ḥtmw r nw wn.st r nw</i> <i>smi.t(w) n.f ḥrt mnnww rs(w) mḥt(w)</i></p>	<p>To him (the vizier) one reports the closing of the enclosures on time and their opening on time. To him is reported the condition of the southern and northern guard posts.</p>
---	--

As specified in part R3 of the text, the vizier receives his report on “the closing of the enclosure on time”, *ḥtm ḥtmw r nw*. Commenting the Duties, Van de Boorn suggests that the term *ḥtmw* – basically meaning “something that is closed/sealed” - is used here “in the wider sense of enclosure, covering all types of rooms, houses and spaces that ought to be locked and opened on time”.⁴⁸¹ In R7 of the same section the phrase *ḥtm ḥtmw r nw* appears again in a report to the vizier on *pr-nswt* and *hnw* matters. In Van the Boorn’s discussions of *The Duties*, the author locates these enclosures within the *pr-nswt*: considering the vizier as the “managing director of the *pr-nswt*”, he assumes that “report on the closing and the opening of the *ḥtmw* to the vizier can be explained satisfactorily when the latter are located in the *pr-nswt*”.⁴⁸² Actually the passage does not allow to set the exact location of these “enclosures”, since the context of R3 is set by vizier’s and treasurer’s operation and action in both the *pr-nswt* and the *hnw*. The *ḥtmw* may be intended as the gates of the *hnw*, since the doors of the *pr-nswt* are defined below (R8) as *sb3 nb n pr-nswt*, “all the gates of the *pr-nswt*”. Whether they belonged to the *pr-nswt* or to

⁴⁸⁰ For the use of *pr n pr-3* as normal expression for “palace” in demotic texts see paragraph below: § 3.3.

⁴⁸¹ Van de Boorn 1989: 44-5.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*: 45.

the *hnw*, these entrances were closed and reopened to allow traffic enter and exit for security reasons.⁴⁸³ Expression in R7 (B.II.33) *smi.t(w) n.f hrt mnnw rs(w) mht(w)*, “to him is reported the condition of the southern and northern guard-posts”, refers to another vizier’s office. The term *mnnw* is usually considered to be a sort of “fortress”,⁴⁸⁴ so that the text would refer to a southern and a northern post-guards or fortresses. Van de Boorn locates the *mnnw* in the *pr-nswt*: “The clauses on *htmw* and *mnnw* constitute a pair in section 2. This suggests a similar environment for both the structures, the *pr-nswt*. The fact that the dealings of the *mnnw* have to be reported to the vizier personally (as managing director of the *pr-nswt*) suggests that these structures both belong to the *pr-nswt*”.⁴⁸⁵ According to this interpretation, the author provides an architectural description of the *pr-nswt* as “provided with girdle wall and gates”.⁴⁸⁶ As for the *htmw*, text does not specify the location of the *mnnw*, which may therefore belong to the *hnw* rather than to the *pr-nswt* itself. An allocation of “guard-posts” to the *hnw* seems much more reasonable, assuming its function and its meaning of city-residence.⁴⁸⁷ Wherever these facilities would have been actually located, the management of their condition (*hrt*)⁴⁸⁸ dealt with the *pr-nswt* itself.

According to passage R3-4 of *The Duties*, everything that enters and leaves the *pr-nswt* and the *hnw* is reported to the vizier:

R3, (...) *pr prrt nbt*

R4, *m pr-nswt smi(w) n.f 'k 'kt nbt r pr-nswt smi(w) n.f ir grt 'kt nbt prrt nbt r s3tw n hnw 'k.sn pri.sn in wpwty.f didi 'k pri*

(..) when everything that has to leave the

pr-nswt leaves, (that) is reported to him. When everything that has to enter the *pr-nswt* enters, (that) is reported to him. As for everything that has to enter or leave the area of the *hnw* it (lit. they) will leave and enter: it is his messenger who sees it that it leaves and enters.

Basing on the information in Section 2, Van de Boorn concludes that while the vizier was in charge of the *pr-nswt*, the treasurer was responsible for the *hnw*. The reason for this statement is that traffic connected to the *hnw* was dealt by a vizier’s messenger (*wpwty.f*), whereas everything living and entering the *pr-nswt* had to be reported directly to the

⁴⁸³ Lorton 1991: 296.

⁴⁸⁴ Wb II: 82, 2-3. FCD: 109. In *The Duties* the terms recurs in R26 section as *mnnw šm'w* in its purely military meaning of “fortress of Upper-Egypt”, in Van de Boorn 1989: 255.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*: 46-7.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: 47.

⁴⁸⁷ See paragraph above: § 2.8.

⁴⁸⁸ Wb III: 318-9.

vizier.⁴⁸⁹ Later in text, section 3 provides the following sequence of actions: after the vizier has moved to the doorway (*m p3 sb3*) of the double gates (*rwty wrty*), the treasurer reports to the vizier that the affairs of the *pr-nswt* are in order, and the vizier reports to the treasurer that the affairs of the *hnw* are in order too. As asserted by Lorton in his discussion on Van de Boorn's interpretation of *The Duties*, "it can be noted here that the vizier's report concerning the Residence was not occasioned by the treasurer's responsibility".⁴⁹⁰ Against the identification of the vizier as "manager director" of the *pr-nswt* proposed by Van de Boorn, Lorton lists a number of compelling reasons – first of all the treasurer's responsibility on reports concerning the *pr-nswt* - to support the idea that the *pr-nswt* was administered by the treasurer and that it was "an entity separate from the administrative apparatus of the vizier".⁴⁹¹

Another passage referring to the cooperation between the vizier and the overseer of the treasury is section R30 containing the statement that they jointly opened the *pr-nbw* (lit. "the gold house"), intended as a complex of royal workshops and storehouses.⁴⁹²

R30, (...) *ntf wn pr-nbw hn' imy-r htm* (..)

It is he (the vizier) who opens the Gold House together with the overseer of the treasury

Despite this passage is inserted in the context of the vizier's responsibilities in relation to the *pr-nswt*, the text does not establish the actual position of the *pr-nbw* within the *pr-nswt*. The *pr-nbw* may have been a separate structure, whose management was somehow connected to the *pr-nswt*.

Determining whether it was the treasurer or the vizier in charge of the direct administration of the *pr-nswt* is not the primary purpose of this work. Even if the vizier seems to have operated in the *pr-nswt* according to orders (*ddt m pr-nswt* in R23 and R24) and reports of other authorities (the king and the treasurer), he certainly took an active role in the offices performed in the *pr-nswt*. The study of the vizier's duties aims at understanding the nature of *pr-nswt* and its real meaning.

The treasurer and the vizier exchange their reports outside the *pr-nswt*, at the *sb3 n rwty wrty*,⁴⁹³ which could be taken as the *sb3* of the *pr-nswt* in R8 (*sb3 nb n pr-nswt*).⁴⁹⁴ It is only

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: 203 ff.

⁴⁹⁰ Lorton 1991: 297.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*: 309.

⁴⁹² Van de Boorn 1989: 62, note no. 42.

after the exchange of reports that doors (*sb3*) were opened for the free flow of traffic into and out of the *pr-nswt*.

R7, (..) *hr-ir-m-ht smi w' n w' m p3 sr 2 hr t3ty h(3)b.f*

R8, *r wn sb3 nb n pr-nswt r rdi[t] 'k '[kw]t nbt prrt nbt m-mitt in wpwty.f didi hpr m sš (..)*

(..) Now after both officials have reported to each other, the vizier shall send out to open every doorway of the *pr-nswt* so as to ensure that everything which has to enter enters and likewise everything which has to leave (leaves). It is his messenger who sees it that (it) happens by means of a writing (..)

The *pr-nswt* appears as the source for supplies and the destination of external deliveries.

Other sections of the text clearly refer to the *pr-nswt* listing the activities performed by the vizier within it:

a)

R21, *ntf sbb wpwty nb n pr-nswt h(3)b n h3tyw-' h3w-hwwt ntf sbb phrti nb wdti nbt nt pr-nswt*

It is he who dispatches every messenger of the *pr-nswt* sent to the mayors and the settlement-leaders; is he who dispatches everyone who will circulate all messages of the *pr-nswt*

b)

R23, *ntf irr dmd n mš' mnmn hr šms nb n [hd] m hnt ntf irr hr-' wnn m niwt rst m hnw hft ddt m pr-nswt*

It is who makes the total of the army contingent that escorts the Lord when [sailing downstream] and upstream. It is he who organizes the remainder of the army that stays behind in the Southern City and in the *hnw* according to what has been said in the *pr-nswt*

c)

R24, *ntf sbb r sw3 nhwt htf ddt m pr-nswt ntf sbb knbtyw*

it is he who dispatches to cut down sycamores according to what has been said in the *pr-nswt*, it is he who dispatches the councilors

d)

R25, (..) *ntf irr imy-r šnt m h3 n pr-nswt*

It is he (the vizier) who appoints the overseer of policemen in the bureau of the *pr-nswt*

e)

R27, *ntf sdm 'n'n nb m [...] ntf dhn dhnw nb šm s r mdwt hn' snnw.f*

It is he who hears any complaint [...] when a man goes to law with his colleague. It is he who appoints anyone to be appointed

R28, *r 'ryt iw n.f šnw nb m pr-nswt ntf sdm wdt nb(t)*

to the 'ryt. It is to him (the vizier) that anyone who has to be interrogated in the *pr-nswt* has to come; it is he who hears every decree (of the king)

f)

R34, *ntf š3' 'h'w r š3'w nb n.f sw ntf sbb wpwty(w) nb n pr-nswt r [...] htf wnn nb m mš' (..)*

It is he who assigns ships to everyone to whom a ship needs to be assigned. It is he who dispatches every messenger of the *pr-nswt* to [...] when the Lord is on expedition

⁴⁹³ The term *rwt* starts to appear in the dual form *rwty* from the Middle Kingdom onwards, with the addition of the dual adjective *wrrty* to describe an important entrance to a palace or a temple. For an overall view of the occurrences of the term in texts see Spencer 1984: 215 ff.

⁴⁹⁴ Lorton 1991: 292.

g)

R35, *n(t?)f ḥtm wdw nb n [...] tsm n mniw-tsmw*
sbb m wpwt nt pr-nswt

It is he who seals every written decree of [...] dog
 of the guardsman of dogs dispatches on a
 mission of the *pr-nswt*

a) The expression *ntf sbb wpwt n nb n pr-nswt*, “It is he who dispatches every messenger of the *pr-nswt*” appears two times in the text (in sections R21⁴⁹⁵ and R34⁴⁹⁶) and introduces the figure of the *wpwt n pr-nswt*, “the messenger of the *pr-nswt*”, a royal agent under the responsibility of the vizier. The *pr-nswt* is presented as a place for exchange of messages and missives among the mayors (*ḥ3tyw-ʿ*) and the settlement leaders (*ḥḳ3w-ḥwwt*) probably regarding local business, procedures, politics and “court” matter. The following phrase *ntf sbb phrt n nb wpwt nbt nt pr-nswt*, “it is he who dispatches everyone who will circulate all messages of the *pr-nswt*”⁴⁹⁷ confirms the role of the vizier as intermediary in transmitting messages (*wpwt*) in the *pr-nswt*. These communications would have probably included king’s instructions to different local levels of administration.⁴⁹⁸

b) In the aforementioned column R23 the *pr-nswt* appears not only as place of civil organization of the state but also as centre for the coordination of enterprises involving royal journeys. The second part of the sentence informs that it is the vizier who organizes a part (*ḥr-ʿ*) of the army (*mšʿ*), executing royal instructions originating from the *pr-nswt*.⁴⁹⁹ It is explained here that he is not issuing orders on his own account but just passes on orders received from other authorities, since the whole operation is initiated by the *pr-nswt* (*ḥft ddt m pr-nswt*).⁵⁰⁰ The *pr-nswt* in such a context is presented as place of origin of decisions and orders.

c) Another activity which can be considered an internal affair of the *pr-nswt* is that expressed by the phrase in section R24: *ntf sbb r sw3 nhwt ḥtf ddt m pr-nswt*, “it is he who dispatches to cut down sycamores according to what has been said in the *pr-nswt*”.⁵⁰¹ The sentence is phrased once again as the execution of an instruction of the *pr-nswt* (*..ḥtf ddt m*

⁴⁹⁵ Van de Boorn 1989: 202, R21.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*: 288, R34.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*: 202, R22. The term *phrt* derives from the verb *phr*, “to turn around, to circulate”: Wb 1: 544-7. FCD: 93. For all the possible translations of the sentence see Van de Boorn 1989: 204-207.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*: 204.

⁴⁹⁹ In the preceding sentence the vizier is said to be the one who assembles also the army contingent that will escort the Lord. Van de Boorn 1989: 218, R23.

⁵⁰⁰ Van de Boorn 1989: 227.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*: 234, R24.

pr-nswt) by the vizier, who has to take care of its execution.⁵⁰² The cut of *nhwt*, “sycamores”, is presented as an organized activity connected with the *pr-nswt*. The inspection of the wood-supply by the vizier is mentioned also in the 19th Dynasty tomb of *P3-sr* (TT 106, B.II.128).⁵⁰³ As pointed out by Van de Boorn, wood and wood-supply seem to have been a subject of special interest to various central institutions.⁵⁰⁴ A fragmentary passage in the Middle Kingdom Admonitions of Ipuwer (Papyrus Leiden 344: A.III.8) makes reference to a centralized wood supply listed among the profits of the *‘h (kmw(t)-‘h)*.⁵⁰⁵ The Gebel Barkal Stele of Thutmosis III (MFA 23.733 - B.I.8) refers to the supply of different kinds of imported wood to the *stp-s3* and finally addressed to the *hnw*:

*l. 30) mdh n.i [m D3hy] tñw rnpt nbt m ‘š m3’ n
Rmnn inw r stp-s3 ‘nh wd3 snb iw n.i hwdt r Kmt
shntw [...] m3[’] n Ng3w m stp n T3-ntr swd st
m3[’] mī šs r sprt r hnw*

There is hewn for me in *D3hy* each and every year consisting of real ‘š-wood of Lebanon, (it) is brought to the *stp-s3*, i. p. h. Precious wood comes for me to Egypt, brought south, [...] real [...] from *Ng3w*, [*m3’*-wood] like alabaster for supply to the *hnw*

Apart from the present passage, other sources refer to the vizier in connection with the management of wood-supply. Among its different uses, wood was also used in the manufacture of luxury goods at the palace workshops (*whrt nt pr-‘3*): one of the administrative orders in the Middle Kingdom Papyrus Reisner II is a copy of a letter of the vizier *‘Intf-īkr* giving instructions relating to deliveries of timber to the dockyard workshop of the *pr-‘3* in the Thinite Nome.⁵⁰⁶ Section B of the same text contains a list of boat equipment received through the chamberlain *S²-Spdw* among which acacia-wood provided by the *hnw* is mentioned: *dnhw nfrw rdi hnw*, “good quality acacia *dnhw* the *hnw* gives”.⁵⁰⁷ There are numbers of evidence suggesting that various central institutions, including the palace, had their own supply of wood, organized by their own personnel or provided through corvée.⁵⁰⁸ The sentence in *Rh-mī-r*’s tomb could refer to the wood-supply for the *pr-nswt* itself and its dependencies or to the production of wood as a centrally organized activity in the provinces.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰² The same expression is contained in section R23. *Ibid.*: 218, R23.

⁵⁰³ Helck 1958: 47 no. 8.

⁵⁰⁴ Van de Boorn 1989: 234 ff.

⁵⁰⁵ Gardiner 1909: 3, 11-12.

⁵⁰⁶ Simpson 1963-1996, II: 22-3.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, II: 27, pl. 27.

⁵⁰⁸ Van de Boorn 1989: 237.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*: 235.

d) As pointed out by Van de Boorn in his commentary to *The Duties*, the meanings and functions of the titles *imyw-r šnt* and *imyw-r šntw*⁵¹⁰ are far from clear.⁵¹¹ Basing on the analysis of several discussions of the titles, the author proposes their interpretation as “overseer of police, chief sheriff”.⁵¹² The *imyw-r šnt*, “overseer of the police”, the *šntw*, “policemen” and the *imyw-r w*, “the overseer of the district” also appear in another passage of the text (R4), where they are said in charge to report their affairs to the vizier:

<i>R24, smi n.f imyw-r šnt šntw imyw-r w hrt.sn</i>	The overseers of the policemen, the policemen and the overseers of the district report to him their affairs
---	---

That these officials functioned in the area of the *pr-nswt* is suggested by context of R25 of the same inscription.⁵¹³ The appointment of the overseer of the police by the vizier takes place in a specific section of the *pr-nswt*, the *h3 n pr-nswt*:

<i>ntf irr imy-r šnt m h3 n pr-nswt</i>	It is he (the vizier) who appoints the overseer of policemen in the bureau of the <i>pr-nswt</i> ⁵¹⁴
---	---

The function of all these officials was probably to survey the incoming and outgoing traffic of the *pr-nswt*⁵¹⁵ and to report to the vizier on the police-work involved (*hrt.sn*, “their affairs”).⁵¹⁶ The passage continues reporting: “He is he who carries out the hearing of the mayors and settlement-leaders who go out in his name (*hr rn.f*) to Upper and Lower Egypt. All matters (*ndwt nb*) are reported to him. It is to him that the affairs of the fortress of Upper Egypt have to be reported (as well as) every arrest of (any) one who is involved in plundering. [...] It is he who assigns the spoil (of war) to each town district. It is he who judges him (the plunderer)”.⁵¹⁷ The mention of the meeting between the vizier and the overseer of the police has probably to be connected with the specific matters envisaged in this section.⁵¹⁸ The *pr-nswt* is described as the *scenario* of the “hearing” of the urban authorities by the vizier and the reporting of matters (*ndwt*) and affairs (*hrt*) concerning the “fortress of the South”.

⁵¹⁰ Wb IV: 498, 1-4. FCD: 269-270. LÄ IV: 1069.

⁵¹¹ Van de Boorn 1989: 50, note no. 35.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*: 50.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*: 42, R4; 51.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 234, R25; 225.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*: 52.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 42, R4-5.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*: 250, R25. Lorton 1991: 298.

⁵¹⁸ Lorton 1991: 299.

e) The concept of 'ryt is mentioned several times in the text.⁵¹⁹ In parts R8-R9 cited above, the 'ryt is presented as the area where the vizier will execute the punishment (*hsf*)⁵²⁰ of convicted officials:⁵²¹

R8, (...) *ir hpr sk r*

R9, *w' m n3 n srw imy h3.f hr.f di.f in.t(w) r [']ryt:*

[i] *n t3ty hsf n.f r-wd3t iw.f*

When a severe accusation is leveled at one of the officials in his bureau, he (the chief official) will see to it, that he (the subordinate official) is taken to the 'ryt. It is the vizier who will punish him according to his offence.

The 'ryt seems to have been a department with its own personnel under the supervision of the vizier who used it to investigate and judge officials.⁵²² The question arises as to where the 'ryt was located. Parts R27-28 under discussion states that the vizier was charged with the appointment of personnel to the 'ryt:

R27-28, (...) *ntf dhn dhnw nb r 'ryt*

It is he who appoints everyone who has to be appointed to the 'ryt

The next sentence would seem to suggest a location of the 'ryt within *pr-nswt*:⁵²³

R2, *iw n.f šnw nb m pr-nswt ntf sdm wdt nb(t)*

It is to him (the vizier) that anyone who has to be interrogated in the *pr-nswt* has to come; it is he who hears every decree (of the king)

The 'ryt is used here in its meaning of "place of justice",⁵²⁴ because it is referred to interrogations of *pr-nswt* personnel about juridical cases. The following phrase *ntf sdm wdt nb(t)*, "it is he who hears every decree (of the king)", relates to the vizier's responsibilities in the 'ryt and his task of "chief justice to officials".⁵²⁵

The connection between the 'ryt and the *pr-nswt* can be assumed also on the basis of an earlier monument, such as the Middle Kingdom stele of *Wp-w3wt-3* (GL WAF 35 - A.II.41):

htmw ntyw m pr-nswt 'nhw nt r 'rryt m33 st3.i r pr-nswt

The sealers who are in the *pr-nswt* and the persons at the 'ryt see my admittance to the *pr-nswt*

⁵¹⁹ For a complete discussion of every section of the text citing the 'ryt see Van de Boorn 1989: 82-3.

⁵²⁰ WB III: 336, 15-18.

⁵²¹ Van de Boorn 1989: 83.

⁵²² *Ibid.*: 83.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*: 83-4.

⁵²⁴ For a different meaning of the 'ryt as the meeting place between the *pr-nswt* and the outside world see Van de Boorn 1989: 24 no. 110

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*: 280.

Confirmation of the link between the concept of justice expressed by term *'ryt* and the *pr-nswt* can be found also in another New Kingdom example, the Horemheb's Decree.⁵²⁶ In this text (B.I.26), Horemheb refers to men chosen by him to rule the country as follows:

<i>nfrw bît rhw wd' imy(w)-ht sdmyw mdt pr-nswt hpw nw 'ryt</i>	With a correct temper, able to fathom the thoughts, obedient to the injunctions of the <i>pr-nswt</i> and the laws of the <i>'ryt</i>
---	---

Analyzing the various sections referring to the *'ryt* in the tomb of *Rh-mî-r'*, Van de Boorn claims to determine the exact position of the *'ryt*, "being a king of building erected on the front area of the *pr-nswt*".⁵²⁷ As sources under discussion suggest a connection between the functions performed in the *'ryt* and the activities in the *pr-nswt*, they do not establish with certainty the physical connection of the two structures, although the location of the "court" near or within the *pr-nswt* seems likely. Expressions in the Middle Kingdom stele of *Wp-w3wt-3* and the Decree of Horemheb suggest that the two institutions would have had each its own bureaucracy (*mdt pr-nswt hpw nw 'ryt*, "the injunctions of the *pr-nswt* and the laws of the *'ryt*") and its own staff (*h̄tmw ntyw m pr-nswt 'nhw nt r 'ryt*, "the sealers who are in the *pr-nswt* and the persons at the *'ryt*") and that they were somehow related. It is likely that the control of the activities within the *'ryt* would be included among the administrative functions of the *pr-nswt*.

f) The mention of "every messenger of the *pr-nswt*" has already been analyzed with regard to section R21 (see letter a). Again in R34 the vizier is said to be responsible in dispatching messengers of the *pr-nswt*, in this case also in occasion of king's expeditions (*mš'*), "we might think in terms of his provisioning them or arranging for their travel".⁵²⁸

g) Interpretation of the activities carried out by the vizier in the *pr-nswt* as described in part R35 is doubtful. Term *t̄sm* makes suppose an activity concerning the delivery of letters⁵²⁹ with royal orders (*w̄dw*) and the preservation by sealing (*h̄tm*) of the missive.

Throughout his study of *The Duties*, Van de Boorn refers to the *pr-nswt* as an architectural complex provided with a girdle wall, gateways (*sb3w*) and guard posts (*mnnw*), and housing a number of distinct units, some of them known by specific names: "enclosures" (*h̄tmw*),

⁵²⁶ Kruchten 1981: 149, 3.

⁵²⁷ Van de Boorn 1989: 84. His claim is based on the interpretation of part R8 of the text, where the appointment of the personnel to the *'ryt* is preceded by the fact that the vizier controls the *sb3 nb n pr-nswt*, "every doorway of the *pr-nswt*".

⁵²⁸ Lorton 1991: 300.

⁵²⁹ Van de Boorn 1989: 289.

the “hall of the *pr-nswt*” (*h3 n pr-nswt*), the “house of gold” (*pr-nbw*), the “bureau of the vizier” (*h3 n t3ty*).⁵³⁰ The lengthy discussion above has shown that in many cases the physical location of the institutions mentioned from time to time in the text has been assumed on the basis of the context rather than on an actual grammatical relationship between the terms. That the *pr-nswt* was equipped with *sb3*-doors, is confirmed by expression in R8⁵³¹ reporting the vizier’s opening of every doorway of the *pr-nswt* (*sb3 nb n pr-nswt*), probably to be identified with the *sb3 n rwtj-wrtj* to which the vizier moves to meet the overseer of the treasury in R5.⁵³² Unlike the *sb3w*, the enclosures (*htmw*) and the guard posts (*mnnw*)⁵³³ in R3⁵³⁴ may have equally belonged to the *hnw* as to the *pr-nswt*. An explicit reference to a “hall/office”⁵³⁵ of the *pr-nswt* (*h3 n pr-nswt*) is made in R 25, where it is described as the place to where the vizier appoints the overseer of the police (*imyw-r šnwt*). Most likely it is in the same *h3* that the vizier hears “the mayors and settlement leaders who have gone out in his name to Upper and Lower Egypt”, “every matter has reported to him” and “the affairs of the fortress of Upper Egypt have to be reported (as well as) every arrest of (any) one who is involved in plundering”.⁵³⁶ Thus, accepting the interpretation adopted by Van de Boorn, the *h3 n pr-nswt* would have operate as a type of reception-hall where the vizier received people from different areas of Upper and Lower Egypt in order to take care of order and security of the country.⁵³⁷ Unlike Van de Boorn argues in his discussion on *The Duties*,⁵³⁸ text does not indicate a close relationship between the *h3 n t3ty* and the *pr-nswt*. The location of the “office of vizier”, as well as the house of the vizier (*pr.f* in R5) within the *pr-nswt*,⁵³⁹ is based on the author’s assessment that the vizier was its “managing director” and not on explicit expressions of the text.⁵⁴⁰ Similarly, the section R30⁵⁴¹ of text that refers to the responsibility of the vizier to open the *pr-nbw* together with the treasurer, does not assert the actual position of the “house of gold” within the *pr-nswt*. Finally, the *ryt* that Van de Boorn positioned at the entrance area

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*: 311.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*: 55, 73.

⁵³² *Ibid.*: 55, 65-66.

⁵³³ Wb II: 82, 2-3. FCD: 109.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*: 12-3, 46.

⁵³⁵ FCD: 183. Wb III: 221-2.

⁵³⁶ Van de Boorn 1989: 250-1, R 25-6.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*: 252.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*: 22.

⁵³⁹ According to Lorton “if the vizier’s house had been located within the *pr-nswt*, a report to him on the latter’s condition would have been superfluous”, in Lorton 1991: 292.

⁵⁴⁰ Van de Boorn 1989: 22, 58.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*: 285.

of the *pr-nswt*⁵⁴² may have been a separate complex, even if connected somehow to the *pr-nswt*. With regard to the personnel working in the *pr-nswt*, the vizier and the messengers (*wpwty n pr-nswt*) of the *pr-nswt* in R21-22⁵⁴³ and R34⁵⁴⁴ are to be surely connected with this institution. The overseer of the treasury, who has to report on the condition of the *pr-nswt* to the vizier in R6,⁵⁴⁵ surely had a management role in the *pr-nswt* itself.⁵⁴⁶ Other officials, probably acting in other administrations and not specifically in the *pr-nswt*, could interact with this institution, such as the vizier's messengers in R3⁵⁴⁷ and R8⁵⁴⁸ (*wpwty.f=t*), responsible functionaries in R6 (*iry nb sšm*),⁵⁴⁹ the overseer of the police in R25 (*imyw-r šnt*)⁵⁵⁰ and the 'ryt personnel.

Functions of the *pr-nswt* can be reconstructed on the basis of the vizier's duties that the text explicitly links to this structure:

- Vizier's responsibility for the physical security of the *pr-nswt*;
- Vizier's authority in dispatching its messengers beyond the *pr-nswt* to communicate messages and any decision of the *pr-nswt* to authorities and local provinces, also in occasion of royal missions;
- Vizier's juridical function to review activities of *pr-nswt* personnel presumably in instances of incompetence and wrongdoing;
- Vizier's role in hearing all the matters (*mdwt nb*) and the affairs (*htf*) that are reported to him by urban authorities and royal agents, such as the overseer of the police;
- Vizier's duty in dealing with royal journey within Egypt and organizing armed personnel;
- Vizier's task of managing the wood-supply;
- Vizier's responsibility of dispatching royal decree and missives.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*: 84.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*: 202-3.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*: 288-9.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: 55, 66.

⁵⁴⁶ Lorton has recognized in the figure of the "overseer of the treasury" the real management-director of the *pr-nswt*, in Lorton 1991: 309-9.

⁵⁴⁷ Van de Boorn 1989: 13.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: 54.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 54, 70-2.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 50 ff., 250.

Section of *The Duties* describing the exchange of reports between the vizier and the overseer of the treasury presents the *pr-nswt* as place where entries and outflows were recorded. It was also the place where royal commands (*ddt m pr-nswt*), according to which the vizier had to fulfill his duties, originated. The picture of the *pr-nswt* that emerges from such a text analysis is that of a centre of royal government and administration.

As well as in the inscription in TT 100, the *pr-nswt* is presented in various inscriptions as place of origin and destination of supplies. The Tale of the Doomed Prince in the *verso* of Papyrus Harris 500 (B.III.1) describes the *pr-nswt* as place of origin of people and supplies for the building of a king's estate in the desert:

4,5-4,6) *wn in hm.f 'nh wd3 snb hr di kd tw n.f* His Majesty had [a house] of stone built [for him]
w' i pr n inr hr smt iw.f 'pr m rtnw m ht nbt nfr upon the desert, supplied with people and with
nw pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb every good thing of the *pr-nswt* l. p. h.

From the *pr-nswt* came the provisions which would have enriched the house of 'Inny (TT 81 – B.II.6):

18) (...) *s'3.n.s (hmt.s) wi mh.n.s i3m.i m hd nbw* She (Hatshepsut ?) (Her Majesty) enriched me
m šsr nb nfr n pr-nswt with possessions, she made me great and filled
my estate with silver, gold, and every good thing
of the *pr-nswt*

A mutilated expression from *verso* of Papyrus Anastasi III (pBM 10246b - B.I.68) records the delivery of a tribute from the *pr-nswt* to a steward (*imy-r*) in the form of *inw*:⁵⁵¹

1,1) *šsp m inyt m [...] pr-nswt Hr-pr 'nh wd3 snb* Receiving what was brought from (?) [...] the *pr-*
m inw n imy-r *nswt* l. p. h. as a tribute of the steward

Some private titles refer to the owner as one who fills the *pr-nswt* (*mh pr-nswt*) with different kinds of supplies ranging from food provisions (*hw df3w*) to precious stones, silver (*hd*) and gold (*nbw*):

Expressions compound with verb <i>mh</i> , "to fill" + <i>pr-nswt</i>				
<i>mh pr-nswt m [hd nbw] imy-r htmwt Sbk-htp</i>	The <i>pr-nswt</i> being full of [silver and gold], overseer of the treasuries/enclosures, <i>Sbk-htp</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 63	B.II.63
<i>mh pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb m hw</i>	One who fills the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l.p.h, with food	<i>Tnwn3</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 76	B.II.56

⁵⁵¹ Bleiberg 1984: 155 ff.

<i>df3w</i>	and provisions			
<i>mḥ pr-nswt m ḥd ḥr nbw ʿ3t nbt špst</i>	One who fills the <i>pr-nswt</i> with silver, gold and all costly/valuable stone/metal	<i>Ḳn-ʿImn</i> (Hatsh.)	TT 93	B.II.52
<i>mḥ pr-nswt m ḥrt.hrw m bw nb nfr</i>	One who fills the <i>pr-nswt</i> every day with every good thing	<i>Nfr-sḥrw</i> (Am. III)	TT 107	B.II.85

A peculiar expression in a number of Amarna tomb inscriptions (tombs of *Mʿy* at el-Amarna - AT 14; B.II.97, of *P3-nḥsy* - AT 6; B.II.94 and of *P3-rn-nfr* - AT 7; B.II.95), consisting of the ritual formula *ḥtp dī nswt*, “a boon which the king gives”, introduces the same concept of the *pr-nswt* as place of entry and exit of supplies:

dī.f r [ʿk] prt m pr-nswt

May he grant entry and exit in the *pr-nswt*

2.7 The term *pr-nswt* in epithets and titles

The prominent administrative function of the *pr-nswt* seems to be confirmed by non-narrative sources as well. It is suggested for example by the frequent association of the term with the scribal profession, to which was delegated the registration of all the economic and bureaucratic operations of the palace. The link between the terms *sš* and *pr-nswt*, already attested in the Middle Kingdom texts, continues to be used in Ramessid titles, such as the *sš nsw m ḥnw pr-nswt*, “the royal scribe of the *ḥnw* of the *pr-nswt*” mentioned in the Onomasticon of *ʿImn-n-ḥpt* (B.1.39). A scribe of the *pr-nswt* was also the author of the Tale of the two Brothers contained in the 19th Papyrus Chester Beatty II, as inferred by the colophon of the text where he is defined *sš ʿImn nt pr-nswt*, “the scribe of Amun of the *pr-nswt*” (B.3.5). Other administrative offices are the *ḥtmw*, “the sealer” dealing with the sealing of precious things (*špssw*) in the *pr-nswt* and the *ḥtmw*, “the sealer of the *pr-nswt*”.

Administrative titles compound with <i>pr-nswt</i>				
<i>imy-r šnʿy pr-nswt nswt-bity</i>	Overseer of the magazines of <i>pr-nswt</i> of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt	<i>ʿI3m-ndḥ</i> (Thut. III)	TT 84	B.II.9
<i>ḥtmw nb m pr-nswt</i>	He who seals everything in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Mry</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 95	B.II.29
<i>ḥtmw ḥtm</i>	Sealer sealing	<i>Dḥwty</i> (Thut. III –	TT 11	B.II.24

<i>špssw m pr-nswt</i>	precious things in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	Hatsh.)		
<i>sš 'Imn nt pr-nsw</i>	The scribe of Amun of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	? (19 th Dyn.)	pChester Beatty II = pBM 10682	B.III.3
<i>sš '3 m pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Great scribe in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.	'Imn-m- <i>h3t</i> (Thut. III) 'Imn-m- <i>h3t</i> (Thut. III – Hatsh.)	TT 82 TT 53	B.II.16 B.II.22
<i>sš nswt 'bw-r m 'h n nswt</i>	Royal scribe of the breakfast in the 'h of the king	<i>Nfr-sr-hrw</i>	Zawwyet Sultan	B.II.173
<i>sš nsw m hnw pr-nswt</i>	Royal scribe of the <i>hnw</i> of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	Onomasticon of 'Imn-m- <i>ipt</i>	20 th Dyn.	B.I.91
<i>htm (bity) '3 m pr-nswt</i>	Great sealer (of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt) in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>K3-ms</i> (Am. III) <i>M'3</i> (Am. III) <i>K3-ms(w)</i> (Am. III)	BM 1210 Saqqara ? Unknown	B.II.71 B.II.79 B.II.83

It must be noticed a fairly close association between *pr-nswt* compounds and titles with *pr-'3* since the administrative titles formed with *pr-nswt* are frequently contrasted in titling with offices attached to the *pr-'3*.⁵⁵² However, the *pr-'3* compounds vastly outnumber their counterparts with *pr-nswt*, being the term *pr-'3* used in a broader spectrum of aspects of the king's life.⁵⁵³

Starting from the New Kingdom, the epithet *hry-sšt3* is one of the Egyptian titles most frequently compound with *pr-nswt*, generally translated as “in charge of secrets” or “he, who is upon secrets” in the *pr-nswt* or similar.⁵⁵⁴ The epithet is attested since the Old Kingdom, when it is one of the most recurrent titles in private inscriptions used for officials who were associated with the king's person and involved in the central or provincial government.⁵⁵⁵ Especially in the Old Kingdom the title could exist also standing alone without any qualifying job description,⁵⁵⁶ while there seems little indication at that time

⁵⁵² Goelet 1982: 507.

⁵⁵³ See paragraph above: § 2.4.

⁵⁵⁴ Wb IV: 296-98 and 51 ff. FCD: 248 and 272. Rydström 1994: 53 ff.

⁵⁵⁵ In the Old Kingdom the title *hry-sšt3* can be qualified by the adjunct of *pr-'3*, referred to the royal estate. The *hry-sšt3 n pr-'3* also sometimes claimed the title *hry 'h*, both the titles seemingly linking such functionaries to the king's very close entourage in the palace, in Balanda 2009: 328.

⁵⁵⁶ Old Kingdom occurrences provide a strong indication that officials were appointed to the rank or office (*i3t*) of *hry-sšt3* without any job description additions. According to Stanley, Z. Balanda, in these instances the *hry-sšt3* would have formed a “college” from which officials were assigned to perform functions specific to such “college”, in *Ibid.*: 322. One of the most notable examples reported by Balanda of this title alone is that of the 18th Dynasty vizier *Rh-mi-R'*, who claims to have

showing direct connection of this title with the religious sphere.⁵⁵⁷ In New Kingdom titles instead, the usage of the causative form *sšt3* of word *št3*, “secret” is frequently attested with reference to temples and gods,⁵⁵⁸ in contexts where these secrets could concern ceremonies or the mysteries of the religious worship.⁵⁵⁹ Apart from the connection of the title with the temple administration, the New Kingdom *hry-sšt3 n pr-nswt* was clearly associated with state bureaucracy since the title is often referred to viziers or people strictly close to the king. In such administrative context, the “secrets” for which the officer was responsible would relate to legal and administrative matters. In order to provide a translation more directly understandable in the modern idiom, Stanley Balanda has recently suggested to render the title as “expert in the procedures in the government enclosure”.⁵⁶⁰ An office which may have some connection with the *hry sšt3 n pr-nswt* is that recorded in ‘Inni’s biography where he is described as *h3p r3 hr hrt pr-nswt*, “one who keeps silent about the affairs of the *pr-nswt*” (B.II.6). In one example *pr-nswt* is replaced by ‘*h* in the title *hry-sšt3 m swt ‘h*, which was held by *P3-nhsy*, a high official under Rameses II (B.II.139).

Together with *hry-sšt3*, even *hry-tp ‘3*, “great chief”, and *imy-r*, “overseer”,⁵⁶¹ can be frequently compound with the word *pr-nswt*.

<i>hry sšt3</i>, <i>imy-r</i> and <i>hry-tp ‘3</i> titles compound with <i>pr-nswt</i>				
<i>imy-r pr-nswt</i>	Overseer of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.) <i>Hr-m-hb</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 71b TT 78	B.II.42 B.II.57
<i>h3p r3 hr hrt pr-nswt ‘nh wd3 snb</i>	One who keeps silent about the affairs of the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.	‘Inni (Am. I – Hatsh.)	TT 81	B.II.6
<i>hry-sšt3 n/nty/m pr-nswt (‘nh wd3 snb)</i>	Keeper of secrets in the <i>pr-nswt</i> (l. p. h.)	<i>Wsr-(nh)t</i> (Thut. III) <i>Rh-mi-r’</i> (Thut. III – Am. III)	St. Ferriol Collection TT 100	B.II.17 B.II.33

been “receiving carob beans and honey in the treasury of the temple and sealing all valuable things in the *pr-‘Imn* in virtue of his office (*i3t*) of *hry-sšt3*” (URK IV: 1140, 15-17), in *Ibid.*: 321.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: 328.

⁵⁵⁸ The progressive connection of the title *hry-sšt3* with the realm of divine offices starts in the Middle Kingdom and seems completed in the New Kingdom. As suggested by Balanda, this process “may well indicate a dissolution of the collegiate nature of this title at a certain point coupled with permanent attachments to specific functions”, in *Ibid.*: 322.

⁵⁵⁹ These officials had to be associated in some way with priestly or semi-priestly duties, see: *Ibid.*: 327-8.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*: 340, no. 61.

⁵⁶¹ The title *imy-r pr-nswt* is known since the Old Kingdom to indicate offices connected with some royal ceremony or ritual. Goelet 1982: 508-9.

		<i>ʿmṭw</i> (Thut. III - Hatsh.) <i>Hrn-m-ḥb</i> (Tut.) <i>Hrn-m-ḥb</i> (Tut.) <i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III) <i>R'-ms(i)w</i> (Am. III) ? (18 th Dyn.) ? (18 th Dyn.) <i>P3-sr-w</i> (Ram. II) <i>(P)R'-ḥtp</i> (Ram. II)	Silsileh 17 Saqqara 2 BM 550 TT 192 TT 55 Berlin 19742 CG 25230 CG 42164 JE 48845	B.II.20 B.II.101 B.II.102 B.II.79 B.II.84 B.II.115 B.II.116 B.II.134 B.II.136
<i>ḥry-sšt3</i> <i>n/nty/m pr-nswt</i> (<i>ʿnh wd3 snb</i>)	Keeper of secrets in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Wsr-(n)ḥt</i> (Thut. III) <i>Rḥ-mi-r'</i> (Thut. III – Am. III) <i>ʿmṭw</i> (Thut. III - Hatsh.) <i>Hrn-m-ḥb</i> (Tut.) <i>Hrn-m-ḥb</i> (Tut.) <i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III) <i>R'-ms(i)w</i> (Am. III) ? (18 th Dyn.) ? (18 th Dyn.) <i>P3-sr-w</i> (Ram. II) <i>(P)R'-ḥtp</i> (Ram. II)	St. Ferriol Collection TT 100 Silsileh 17 Saqqara 2 BM 550 TT 192 TT 55 Berlin 19742 CG 25230 CG 42164 JE 48845	B.II.17 B.II.33 B.II.20 B.II.101 B.II.102 B.II.79 B.II.84 B.II.115 B.II.116 B.II.134 B.II.136

New Kingdom private titles may mention the official's responsibility for some kind of works (*k3wt*) that in one occasion pertains the celebration of the *Sed*-festival in a dedicated temple (*ḥwt ḥbw-sd*). Some of the civil posts associated with the *pr-nswt* since the Old

Kingdom documentation appear to have been carpenters' titles charged with construction on king's behalf.⁵⁶²

Titles compound with noun <i>k3wt</i> + <i>pr-nswt</i>				
<i>imy-r k3wt m hwt hbw-sd m 'h n pr-nswt</i>	overseer of the works in the temple of <i>Sed</i> -festivals in the 'h (and in the) <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Nfr-h3t</i> (Thut. IV) ? (18-19 th Dyn.)	BM 148 Leiden 3.1.1.37	B.II.59 B.II.120
<i>hrp k3wt nbwt nt pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Controller of all the works of the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.	<i>'l3m-ndh</i> (Thut. III) <i>'ln-it.f</i> (Thut. III) <i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.)	TT 84 Louvre C 26 CG 579	B.II.9 B.II.10 B.II.47
<i>hrp k3wt nbwt nt pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Controller of all the works of the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.	<i>'l3m-ndh</i> (Thut. III) <i>'ln-it.f</i> (Thut. III) <i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.)	TT 84 Louvre C 26 CG 579	B.II.9 B.II.10 B.II.47

Different types of offices (*i3wt*),⁵⁶³ not otherwise specified, can be related to the *pr-nswt*:

Titles compound with noun <i>i3wt</i> + <i>pr-nswt</i>				
<i>imy-r i3wt pr-nswt</i>	Overseer of offices in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Hrn-m-hb</i> (Tut.)	Saqqara 2	B.II.101
<i>wr m i3wt.f m pr-nswt</i>	Great one in his offices in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Tn-wrw</i> (Am. II)	TT 101	B.II.53
<i>wr m i3t.f m pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Great one in his office in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.	<i>H'-m-h3t</i> (Am. III)	TT 57	B.II.75
<i>smn i3wt m pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb</i>	One who maintained the offices in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.	? (Hatsh.)	TT 73	B.II.39

Documentation of private titles has a counterpart in the narrative expression in stele Louvre C 26 (B.II.10) where *'ln-it.f* states as follows:

i3wt.i pw m pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb wnw.t.i pw m stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb This was my office in the *pr-nswt*, l. p. h.; this was my duty in the *stp-s3*, l. p. h.

⁵⁶² Goelet 1982: 527.

⁵⁶³ GEG: O 44, 550.

There are also generic titles stating the prominent position of the owner in the *pr-nswt* using adjectives such as *w'*, “unique”, *wr*, “great”, and the synonymous ‘3, “magnate”. They all were designations of rank without any associated administrative office or duties. Some epithets refer to both the inscription owner and his officials as *sr*, “official”,⁵⁶⁴ *h3ty-*, “leader”, or part of the *šnwt*, “entourage”⁵⁶⁵ of the *pr-nswt*. An official may be described as “great” (*wr*) or “firm” (*mn*) of love (*mrwt*) in the *pr-nswt*, presumably to emphasize the approval given to him by the king or the other officials.

Generic titles compound with <i>pr-nswt</i>				
<i>w' tp(y) m iswt pr-nswt</i>	Unique one who is the first among the workers/staff of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III – IV)	TT 192	B.II.79
<i>s'3.n.f r wrw pr-nswt</i>	One who makes them greater than the great ones in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Wsr-s3tt</i> (Am. II)	Amarah	B.II.54
<i>imy-ib '3 m pr-nswt</i>	Great favored in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>'Imn-m-ipt</i> (Thut. II – Am. II)	TT 96	B.II.26
		<i>P3-sr</i> (Thut. II – Am. II)	TT 94	B.II.27
<i>'3 m pr-nswt ('nh wd3 snb)</i>	Magnate in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , (l. p. h.)	<i>'l3m-nḏh</i> (Thut. III)	TT 84	B.II.9
		<i>Ph-sw-ḥr</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 88	B.II.28
		<i>'Imn-m-ḥ3t</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 97	B.II.30
		<i>'Imn-m-ḥb</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 85	B.II.34
		<i>Tnwn3</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 76	B.II.56
		<i>Nbi</i> (Thut. IV)	Leiden V 43	B.II.61
		<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 63	B.II.63
		<i>Pth-msw</i> (Am. III)	Lyon 88	B.II.72
		<i>Nfr-sḥrw</i> (Am. III)	TT 107	B.II.85
		<i>Pth-ms</i> (Am. III)	Leiden V 14	B.II.86
		<i>'Imn-m-ḥ3t Swrr</i> (Am. III ?)	BM 123	B.II.106

⁵⁶⁴ Wb IV: 188.

⁵⁶⁵ Wb IV: 511-512. FCD: 268.

		<i>Mn-ḥpr-R'-Snb</i> (18 th Dyn.)	TT 112	B.II.117
		<i>P3-sr</i> (Sety I – Ram. II)	TT 106	B.II.128
<i>wr m 'k r pr-nswt</i>	Great one who enters the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Dḥwty-msw</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 295	B.II.64
<i>wr mrwt m pr-nswt</i>	The great one beloved in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>'Imn-ḥtp</i> (Thut. III)	CG 551	B.II.14
		<i>Nḥ-Mwn</i> (Thut. III)	TT 87	B.II.15
		<i>'3nn</i> (Am. III)	Turin b	B.II.74
		<i>Hr-nb</i> (Am. III)	Turin 50	B.II.87
<i>p3 wr m pr-nswt</i>	High steward in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Nfr-sr-ḥrw</i> (19 th Dyn.)	Zawiet Sultan	B.II.175
<i>mn mrt m pr-nswt</i>	Firm of love in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>K3-n-'Imn</i> (Thut. IV)	BM 56929	B.II.67
		<i>i'ḥ</i> (17th Dyn.)	Louvre C 49	B.II.1
<i>[rwdw] n pr-nswt</i>	The [agents] of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	Horemheb	Dupl. CG 34162	B.I.26
<i>ḥ3ty-' wrw m pr-nswt</i>	Leader of the grandees in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>P3-sr</i> (Sety I – Ram. II)	TT 106	B.II.128
<i>snb ḥ3wty n wrw 'ḥ</i>	Foremost of the greats of the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Nfr-sḥrw</i> (Am. III)	TT 107	B.II.85
<i>sr '3 m pr-nswt</i>	Great official in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>'l3m-ndḥ</i> (Thut. III)	TT 84	B.II.9
<i>shnty n pr-nswt</i>	The one who is in front of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Ḥpw-snbw</i> (Thut. III – Hatsh.)	CG 648	B.II.21
<i>šps.i (m) srw m pr-nswt</i>	One who is accepted by the officials of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III)	TT 192	B.II.79
<i>šnyt imyt pr-nswt</i>	Courtiers who are in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>P3-sr</i> (Sety I – Ram. II)	TT 106	B.II.128

Some peculiar expressions stress the freedom of movement of the official within the *pr-nswt*:

<i>Nmtt m pr-nswt</i>				
<i>wstn nmtt m pr-nswt 'nḥ wd3 snb</i>	One who strides freely in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.	? (Hatsh.)	TT 73	B.II.39
<i>hrî nmtt m pr-nswt</i>	Content step in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III)	TT 192	B.II.79

Epithets may refer to the *pr-nswt* by stating that the official is favored in it, using a form of the verb *ḥsī*, “to praise”, “to favor”:⁵⁶⁶

Titles compound with verb <i>ḥsī</i> + <i>pr-nswt</i>			
<i>wr ḥswt m pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Great of praises/favors in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Sm-m-i3ḥ</i> (Hatsh.) <i>'3nn</i> (Am. III)	TT 127 Turin (?)
<i>ḥsw(t).i mn m pr-nswt</i>	My praises/favors remain firm in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>mr pr wr 'lmn-ḥtp</i> (Am. III)	Memphis

To these last groups must be reconnected the expression recorded on the funerary statue of *Mwt-nfrt* from Amarna (B.II.88):

*l. 1-3) Nswt dī ḥtp Hnmw nb-ḥr Wrt ntr '3 nb r pt
dī.f 'k ḥsy pr mrw ḥsw(t).f mn pr-nswt n k3 n s3.st
s'nh rn.s ḥ3ty-' M'w n Nfrwsy*

A boon which the king gives of Khnum of *Wrt*, the great god, Lord of the heaven, as he gives (the means of) entering favored and departing beloved, (as) one whose praises are established in the *pr-nswt*: for the *k3* of her son who causes her name to live, the major *M'w* of *Nfrw-sy*.

2.8 The term *hnw* in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

The term *hnw* is broadly used in a wide variety of contexts suggesting two main different meanings of the word. It has the peculiarity of being derived from the trilateral stem *hnw*, whose base meaning is “interior, inside”.⁵⁶⁷ In some contexts the word seems to keep that meaning, especially when used in genitive phrases in narrative texts where it is combined with other words for palace. In other occasions, *hnw* appears in prepositional phrases compound with *r* or *m* where it is usually closely associated with a verb of motion presenting the *hnw* as last destination of the transfer.

The most meaningful genitive phrases in both official and private narrative texts are those where *hnw* is connected with *'h* through a genitive direct relation (*hnw 'h*) or by means of the genitive adjective *ni/nw* (*hnw nw 'h*).

One example of this usage of the term appears in the inscription of the 9th year of Queen Hatshepsut regarding the expedition to *Pwnt* at Deir el-Bahari (B.I.12):

⁵⁶⁶ GEG: 579. Wb III: 159.

⁵⁶⁷ Goelet 1982: 4.

Nb t3wy m hnw dsrw nw 'h.f

The Lord of the Two Lands (came) from inside
the sacred place of his 'h

The same relationship between the two terms is attested in the private inscriptions on the statue of *'Imn-htp* from Karnak reporting the expression *mdww prt m hnw 'h*, “words spoken in the *hnw 'h*” (CG 583 - B.II.73) and on the statue of *Hr(3)w.f* from Bubastis with the phrase *shpr.n.f m hnw 'h.f*, “put in life by him in his *hnw 'h*” (Bubastis - B.II.81).

The prepositional phrase *m hnw*, “in the *hnw*” appears in two narrative passages which refer to the *hnw* as a place where to eat and drink: *htmw bity sw(r)i m hnw*, “sealer of Upper and Lower Egypt who drinks in the *hnw*” in the biographical text from the tomb of *Sw-m-nwt* in Thebes West no. 92 (TT 92 - B.II.31) and *hr wnm.f hr swr.f n hnw*, “when he eats and drinks in the *hnw*” in the Instruction of *'Imn-n-ipt* (CAT - B.III.4).

The *hnw* in these expressions seems to be used with its base meaning of “inside”,⁵⁶⁸ as an inner space of the royal building where private activities could take place. The compound *hnw 'h* seems to refer to the *hnw* as a specific inner section of a biggest structure, the 'h. Its connection with word *dsrw*⁵⁶⁹ in Hatshepsut’s Inscription from Deir el-Bahari suggests that the *hnw* may indicate a restricted section of the 'h, whose access was limited to few people. The same use of the term recurs in Horemheb’s decree (B.I.26) in that passage where the king commemorates to have re-established the justice in Egypt:

rhn.n.i kb.fr 3w.f s3h.n.i dr-’ m hnw.f (...)

I know his interior entirely (because) I reach the
deep of his *hnw*

The “interior” meaning of the *hnw* is suggested by the context and its association with the term *dr-’*, “end, deep”.⁵⁷⁰

The term *hnw* seems also to be connected to the concept of *wpt*, “justice”, as suggested in a passage of Horemheb’s decree (B.I.26) where it is described as a place where every prince (*h3ty-’*) and priest (*hm ntr*) is set *r irt wp(t) m hnw t3 knbt rdit r wp(t)*, “to render justice in the *hnw* of magistrates made to judge”.

The prepositional phrase *r hnw* is closely associated with a verb of motion – *spr*, “to arrive” – in the Ahmose’s Tempest Stele (B.I.2). The first fragmentary section of the monument

⁵⁶⁸ Wb III: 368, 17; 369, 15.

⁵⁶⁹ For the interpretation of the *dsrwt* as a sacred room within the palace connected to the celebration of festivals, see Hirsch 2009: 75-6.

⁵⁷⁰ GEG: 205, 3; 604.

describes an offering-ceremony probably consisting of a procession of the image of Amun and other Theban gods. The final lacuna of this passage of the stele mentions the king's return to Thebes and his encounter with Amun's image. Term *hnw* is used here with reference to the city of Thebes in the formula *hnw n W3st*:

l. 12) spr pw ĩr.n ĥm.f r hnw n W3st nbw ĥs m What His Majesty did was to arrive at Thebes
[nbw] sšm pn šsp.f 3b(t).n.f and gold encountered the gold of his
 processional image, so that he received what he
 has desired

In other passages of the same text the word *hnw* appears again in the genitival phrase *hnw pr-ʿ3*, "the *hnw* of the *pr-ʿ3*", where it must be understood as the "inside" of the *pr-ʿ3*-palace.

l. 5) (..) [wn.ĩn ĥm.f ĥ r hnw Then His Majesty sailed downstream to the *hnw*
l. 6) pr-ʿ3 ʿnh (w)d3 s(nb) ĩst grt ntr] pn ʿ3 ĥr 3byt *pr-ʿ3*, i. p. h. but this great god] was desiring that
[ʿn s]w ĥm.f [ĥr.f His Incarnation [returns to him], while the gods
ĩw] ntrw ĥr šnt hnw.sn n [nbw] were asking for [all] their cult services.

l. 14) sndm pw ĩr.n ĥm.f m hnw pr-ʿ3 What His Majesty did was to rest in the *hnw pr-ʿ3*,
 i. p. h.

However, we must consider here the ambiguity of the term *pr-ʿ3* from the New Kingdom onwards, when it came to mean definitely the person of the "Pharaoh", so that the *hnw pr-ʿ3* could be also interpreted as the *hnw* of Thebes mentioned in line 12 belonging to the Pharaoh (*pr-ʿ3*).

Crucial sources for the reconstruction of the royal palace function are New Kingdom texts relating to the vizier, whose office was inevitably connected to the royal building. These documents consist mainly of inscriptions on the walls of the tombs of these officers in the form of King's instructions to the vizier; they provide information on the role of the vizier profession, the chief civil function in the Egyptian state, but also more general advices on the administrative organization of Egypt in the New Kingdom. One of the most important versions of these texts is preserved in the 18th Dynasty *Rĥ-mĭ-r*'s tomb (TT 100 - B.II.33), and has been designated by the American scholar as the *Duties of the Vizier*.⁵⁷¹ Parallel versions of the same text have been found in the 18th Dynasty tombs of *ʿImn-wsr(w)* (TT 131)⁵⁷² and *ʿImn-m-ĭpt* (TT 29)⁵⁷³ and the 19th Dynasty tomb of *P3-sr* (TT 106).⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷¹ Van de Boorn 1989: 1.

⁵⁷² PM I, 1: 245-47. Dziobek 1994. Dziobek 1995: 129-140. Hornung 1961: 99 ff.

The starting expression of the instruction in the tomb of *Rḥ-mī-r'* contains the title *imy-r n nīwt t3ty n nīwt rst n hnw m ḥ3 n t3ty*, “the overseer of the city, the vizier of the Southern City and of the *hnw* in the bureau of the vizier”.⁵⁷⁵ Reading *The Duties*, Van de Boorn examines the possibility of a double interpretation of the phrase. In the expression *t3ty n nīwt rst n hnw m ḥ3 n t3ty*,⁵⁷⁶ word *hnw* would have been used as a qualification of *nīwt rst*, the whole sentence meaning “vizier of the southern city, in the bureau of the vizier”.⁵⁷⁷ A second possibility of interpretation, according to which *hnw* would not equal *Nīwt rst*, suggests the existence of two centers as residences of two vizier or one vizier connected to two towns.⁵⁷⁸ The vizierate was divided into an Upper-Egyptian and a Lower Egyptian office in the New kingdom, no later than during the reign of Tuthmosis III.⁵⁷⁹ The use of the term *hnw* to indicate a whole residence-city starts in the Middle Kingdom⁵⁸⁰ when it often refers to Itjtawy in contrast with *Nīwt rst*, used to define Thebes.⁵⁸¹ According to Van de Boorn, “in a 18th Dynasty context if *nīwt rst* can only refer to Thebes, *hnw* only to Memphis”.⁵⁸² Van de Boorn considers the fact that Thebes is cited along with Memphis as a possible indication of the paramount position held by Thebes in the earliest part of the 18th Dynasty in comparison with its status in the late 18th-20th Dynasties.⁵⁸³ There is an ample evidence pointing out that kings of the 18th Dynasty owned estates and palaces in Memphis.⁵⁸⁴ According to Van de Boorn,⁵⁸⁵ the picture emerging from this documentation is that, while Thebes held its strong foremost position, Memphis gradually became the second

⁵⁷³ PM I, 1: 45-46.

⁵⁷⁴ PM I, 1: 219-224. Säve-Söderbergh 1957: 11-21. Marohn 1995: 63-66.

⁵⁷⁵ The text starts with the expression *tp-rd n imy-r nīwt t3ty n nīwt rst n hnw m ḥ3 n t3ty*, “Instructions for the session of the governor of the city, the vizier of the Southern and of the *hnw* in the bureau of the vizier”, in Van de Boorn 1989: 13, R1.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*: 12, R1.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*: 18.

⁵⁷⁸ Van de Boorn supports the hypothesis of two viziers reciprocally connected to the two major New Kingdom political centres: Thebes and Memphis. *Ibid.*: 20.

⁵⁷⁹ Raven 2009: 157. According to more recent Egyptological research, it is likely that the division of the vizierate into a northern and a southern office may date back to the Middle Kingdom, in Raedler 2004: 284-5.

⁵⁸⁰ See for instance in the Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446: Hayes 1953: 81.

⁵⁸¹ Van de Boorn 1989: 18. Hayes 1953: 33-38. Simpson 1963: 58, n° 26. Beckerath 1964: 73-74. Helck 1958: 3-4.

⁵⁸² Badawy 1948: 50-1. LÄ IV, 27-9.

⁵⁸³ Beckerath 1964: 96. Van de Boorn 1989: 18.

⁵⁸⁴ LÄ, IV: 28. Thutmosis I moved his court to Memphis, where the palace he built was used 150 years later, in Redford 1967: 79. In the Restoration Decree of Tutankhamun carved on stele CG 34183 from Karnak, the king is said to be in *pr-ʿ3.f imyt-pr ḥpr-k3-R'*, “his *pr-ʿ3*, estate of Thutmose I”: URK IV: 2028, 7; 2031, 15. Helck 1958: 5. Bennet 1939: 9. This palace and estate are later mentioned on a donation stele of Ay: *ḥr 3ht pr ḥpr-k3-R'*, “in the field of the house of Thutmosis I”, URK IV: 2109, 17.

⁵⁸⁵ Van de Boorn 1989: 21.

administrative centre of Egypt between Thutmose and Hatshepsut/Thutmose III.⁵⁸⁶ The existence of a royal palace at Thebes is confirmed by written sources from the Middle Kingdom onwards.⁵⁸⁷

The fragmentary inscription from the tomb of *P3-sr* at the time of Sety I may have reported the same opposition between the two terms, if integrated on the basis of *Rḥ-mī-r's Duties*: [*nt.f ṛr..nb*] *m nīwt rswt* [*m hnw*], [it is he who..every] in Thebes [and in the *hnw*] (B.II.33).

The same opposition between *Nīwt rst* and *hnw* is expressed in part R18 of the text where the petition to the vizier concerning “the fields” (*3ḥwt*) is recorded. The expression shows the opposition of two different locations of the fields, denoting the existence of two governmental centers:⁵⁸⁸

R18, (..) <i>ṛr swt 3ḥwt.f nty tkn n nīwt rst</i> [<i>n hnw</i>] <i>ṛr.f wdf r.f ḥr hrw 3 m</i>	But as for his fields that borders on the Southern City and the <i>hnw</i> , he makes to him a delay of (only) three days,
R19, <i>ntt r hp</i>	according to the law.

The contrast between the two terms appears also in that section of the composition (R 23) referring to the army, *mš'*, which is described as staying behind the Southern City and in the *hnw*:

<i>ntf ṛr ḥr-' wnn m nīwt rst m hnw ḥft ddt m pr-nswt</i>	It is he who organizes the remainder of the army that stays behind in the Southern City and in the <i>hnw</i> according to what has been said in the <i>pr-nswt</i>
---	---

It seems that the army was structurally divided in two groups, the term *ḥr-*⁵⁸⁹ indicating “the remaining part” of it. One section of this group stayed back in the Southern City and another one in the *hnw*, perhaps as a sort of urban garrison.⁵⁹⁰

The usage of the term *hnw* to indicate not a specific royal building but the site of the royal residence itself can be noticed in Ramessid inscriptions where it serves as specification of the new city-palace Piramesse.

⁵⁸⁶ Memphis became the new centre of administration and military power under Thutmose I, in Beckerath 1971: 36. It has been suggested that Thutmose III spent most of the time in the North of Egypt, in Memphis, in Helck 1958: 5 and Helck 1960: 310.

⁵⁸⁷ See paragraph above: § 1.13.

⁵⁸⁸ For a different interpretation of the passage see Van de Boorn 1989: 162-163.

⁵⁸⁹ Wb III: 134, 8.

⁵⁹⁰ Van de Boorn 1989: 219.

In the decree of blessing Ptah upon Rameses II and III (B.I.54) the *hnw* is presented as settlement and governmental centre built to consolidate the borders of Lower Egypt.

ir.n.f hnw '3 špsỉ r nh̄t t3š T3-mri pr R'-mssw He had made an august *hnw* to strengthen the borders of Egypt: Piramesse

In a graffito of the royal messenger *Nfr-ḥr* from Abu Simbel (B.II.146), *hnw* is repeated twice, at first to indicate the position of the owner as scribe of the royal building, and then as specification of Piramesse:

imy-r sšw m hnw n t3 Ḥwt-R'-ms-sw-mri-'Imn Overseer of the scribes in the *hnw* in the land of *hnw*
hnw *Ḥwt-R'-ms-sw-mri-'Imn hnw*

Turning our attention back to the starting expression in the tomb of *Rḥ-mi-r'*, the *ḥ3 n t3ty*, “the bureau of the vizier”⁵⁹¹ at the end of the title *t3ty n niwt rst n hnw*,⁵⁹² indicates a close relationship between the *ḥ3 n t3ty* and the *hnw*.⁵⁹³ Scenes in the tomb of *Rḥ-mi-r'* (TT 100) and in the tomb of *'Imn-m-ipt* (TT 29) represent a room which can be interpreted as the *ḥ3 n t3ty*.⁵⁹⁴ Considering the details of the scene in TT 29,⁵⁹⁵ it appears to have been a building with several rooms and a main reception or session hall. The office had its own personnel and it was used as a meeting-place between vizier and subordinate officials for receiving information, issuing instructions and dispatching officials,⁵⁹⁶ and as a store of vizier's archives.⁵⁹⁷ The text does not provide any information about the specific location of the bureau of the vizier, which may have been located somewhere in the *hnw* or the *pr-nswt*. Departments explicitly related to the *hnw* are mentioned in parts R6 and R7 recording the vizier's responsibility to report about the condition of the *hnw*:

R6, t3ty smỉ.f n imy-r ḥtm r dd Then the vizier shall report to the overseer of the treasury saying
R7, ḥ3w.k nb 'd wd3 st nbt n hnw 'd [wd3 “all your affairs are sound and prosperous, every department of the *hnw* is sound and prosperous.”

⁵⁹¹ the noun *ḥ3* is regularly used in the Middle and New Kingdom to denote the office of an official. FCD: 183. Wb III: 221-22.

⁵⁹² Van de Boorn 1989: 12, R1.

⁵⁹³ Van de Boorn focuses on the relation of the *ḥ3 n t3ty* with the *pr-nswt*, in Van de Boorn 1989: 20.

⁵⁹⁴ The episode depicted on the east wall of the tomb illustrates the official functions of the vizier. The southernmost of these sections show the sitting of the vizier in a construction supported by two columns. In the ganway and outside this hall ushers are dealing with appellants or defaulting taxpayers, in Davies 1941: Pl. 24-5. Newberry 1900: 23.

⁵⁹⁵ “In Tomb 29 there is a considerable space behind the columned hall, enclosed by a wall, and here numbers of men are seated (..) This seems to imply that the hall had reception rooms behind it”, in Davies 1941: 32 n. 76

⁵⁹⁶ Van de Boorn 1989: R1, R9, R14, R24 and R36.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*: R27.

In his commentary to *The Duties*, Van de Boorn has stressed the variety of meanings that term *st*⁵⁹⁸ may acquire depending on the context from its generic sense of “throne, place”.⁵⁹⁹ In this particular passage it could be referred to some kind of service or department in charge of undefined governmental tasks, the *st nbt n hnw* being translated by the author as “every department of the *hnw*”.

Section from R3 to R8 of *Rḥ-mi-r*’s tomb inscription describes the exchange of reports on the condition of the *pr-nswt* and the *hnw*.

R3, *smi.tw n.f ḥtm ḥtmw r nw wn.st r nw smi.t(w) n.f ḥrt mnnww rs(w) mḥt(w) pr prrt nbt*

To him one reports the closing of the enclosures on time and their opening on time. To him is reported the condition of the southern and northern guard posts. When everything that has to leave the

R4, *m pr-nswt smi(w) n.f ‘k ‘kt nbt r pr-nswt smi(w) n.f ḥr grt ‘kt nbt prrt nbt r s3tw n hnw ‘k.sn pri.sn in wpwty.f dīdī ‘k pri smi n.f*

pr-nswt leaves, (that) is reported to him. When everything that has to enter the *pr-nswt* enters, (that) is reported to him. As for everything that has to enter or leave the area of the *hnw* it (lit. they) will leave and enter: it is his messenger who sees it that it leaves and enters.

Basing on information from R3-4, Van de Boorn assigns the responsibility of the *pr-nswt* to the vizier, while the treasurer would have been in charge of the *hnw*.⁶⁰⁰ He notes that the traffic connected to the *hnw* was dealt by a vizier’s messenger, whereas everything living and entering the *pr-nswt* was reported directly to the vizier without intermediaries. However, the next passage of the text shows another sequence of events:

R5, *t3ty m wbn m p3 sb3 n rwty wrty ḥr*

Then the vizier shall move (in) from the east in the doorway of the great double-gate.

R6, *imy-r ḥtm i.f m ḥs.f ḥn’ smiṯ n.f r dd h3w.k nb ‘d wd3 smi.n n.i ḥry nb sšm r dd h3w.k nb ‘d wd3 pr-nswt ‘d wd3 ḥr t3ty smi.f n imy-r ḥtm r dd*

The overseer of the treasury shall come to meet him and he shall report to him saying: all your affairs are sound and prosperous. Every responsible functionary has reported to me saying: all your affairs are sound and prosperous, *pr-nswt* is sound and prosperous. Then the vizier shall report to the overseer of the treasury saying

R7, *h3w.k nb ‘d wd3 st nbt n hnw ‘d [wd3]*

“all your affairs are sound and prosperous, every department of the *hnw* is sound and prosperous”.

⁵⁹⁸ GEG: Q1, 500.

⁵⁹⁹ Van de Boorn 1989: 69.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*: 69.

At the door of the double gate (*m p3 sb3*) of the double gateway (*rwty wrty*) the treasurer reports to the vizier that the affairs of the *pr-nswt* are in order and the vizier reports to the treasurer that the affairs of the *hnw* are in order. As asserted by Lorton, “it can be noted that the vizier’s report concerning the Residence was not occasioned by the treasurer’s responsibility”.⁶⁰¹ The vizier’s responsibility on the *hnw*, more specifically on the organization of the remainder of the army that stays in it (*hr-’ wnn .. m hnw*), seems confirmed by the aforementioned passage in R23.

Beyond the discussion about who was actually the “manager-director” of the *pr-nswt* and the *hnw*, it is clear that both the treasurer and the vizier, one directly and the other indirectly, were in charge of both these institutions.

Considering those expressions where *hnw* is used in contrast with *Niwt rst*, Thebes, possibly referring to Memphis, or those where it is used as specification of Thebes itself or Piramesse, the term *hnw* would seem to refer to all the residence-cities rather than to a specific royal building. In some passages of the *Rḥ-mi-r*’s tomb, the *hnw* is depicted also as a physical complex whose incoming and outgoing traffic was indirectly controlled by the vizier. He had to organize the army that stayed in the Southern City and receive a daily report on *st nbt n hnw*, “every affair of the *hnw*”, according to what decided in the *pr-nswt* (B.II.33). From the previous discussion of the use of the term *hnw* in *The Duties*, the *pr-nswt* should be considered part of a wider institution, the *hnw* itself, comprehensive of it and other administrative departments. The membership of the *pr-nswt* to the *hnw* would seem to be contradicted by the compound *hnw pr nswt* used in some private titles, such as the *sḥ nswt m hnw pr-nswt*, “scribe of the *hnw* of the *pr-nswt*” (B.I.91) mentioned in the Onomasticon of *’Imn-m-ḥpt*. The two terms can be linked by the *n* preposition and once by the nisba *imy*, “being in”. In this occasion the common translation of “interior”, “inside”⁶⁰² for *hnw* seems to be the most appropriate, referring to the inner section of the *pr-nswt* itself.

Interpretation of word *hnw* as city-residence would help to clarify the expression in Hatshepsut’s inscription from Deir el-Bahari mentioning the expedition to *Pwnt*, where the Queen states as follows (B.I.12):

I. 14) *smnt.n.f Pwnt m hnw.f*

She made *Pwnt* established in his *hnw*

⁶⁰¹ Lorton 1991: 297.

⁶⁰² GEG: §178. The *hnw* as “interior” is also used to create the compound preposition *m hnw (n)*, “in the interior of”.

With the use of the causative verb *smnt* in this passage, Hatshepsut seems to allude to the annexation of *Pwnt* to the Egyptian administration and consequently to the *hnw* as an administrative entity in the broadest sense of the word.

2.9 The term *hnw* in titles and epithets

The private titles compounds with *hnw* are rare with some exceptions such as *imy-r hnw* in the titling of *Sn-n-Mwt* (TT 71 – B.II.41) and few others. The scarcity of such titles is probably not due to accidents of preservations, but rather to the nature of the word *hnw*. We have encountered above the concept that *hnw* was not an architectural unity with specific functions, but rather seems to have been a widest institution coinciding with the residential or the administrative city.

The aforementioned *imy-r hnw* is the sole title, which seems to be linked to the administration of the *hnw*,⁶⁰³ even if it does not recall any specific responsibility of the owner. It is not known what the actual function of this position was, or to what extent it was merely honorary.

In some New Kingdom private title the *hnw* appears in connection with administrative roles and economic operations. Its use as an element in scribal titles shows that it may have been closely linked to the central administration. As already noted above, vizier *Rḥ-mi-r'* claims the office of *t3ty n n'wt rst n hnw*, “vizier of the Southern City and of the *hnw*”, the *hnw* meaning another city as opposed to Thebes (*n'wt rst*), probably to be identified with Memphis.⁶⁰⁴

Administrative use of the term <i>hnw</i> in private titles				
<i>imy-r hnw</i>	Overseer of the <i>hnw</i>	<i>Rmn-ii-'nh</i> (12 th Dyn.) <i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.)	CG 20748 TT 71	A.II.123 B.II.39
<i>imy-r hnw n ḥ3 n imy-r ḥtm</i>	Overseer of the <i>hnw</i> in the office of the overseer of the treasury	<i>Rmny-'nh</i> (12 th Dyn.)	CG 20571	A.II.101
<i>imy-r sšw m hnw n t3 Ḥwt-</i>	Overseer of the scribes in the <i>hnw</i>	<i>St(w)y</i> (Ram. II)	Abu Simbel 2	B.II.146

⁶⁰³ Goelet 1982: 115.

⁶⁰⁴ Van de Boorn 1989: 69.

<i>R'[-mssw-mri-<u>Imn</u>] <u>hnw</u></i>	in the land of <i>Hwt-R'-mssw-mri-'Imn</i> <u>hnw</u>			
<i>sš nswt m <u>hnw</u> pr-nswt</i>	Royal scribe of the <i>hnw</i> of the <i>pr-nswt</i>	? (20 th Dyn.)	Onomasticon of <i>'Imn-m-ipt</i>	B.I.91
<i>sš nswt nri.fr 'krht m 't irp(w) n <u>hnw</u></i>	Royal scribe dealing with vessels and the wine department of the <u>hnw</u>	<i>Nfr-htp</i> (Ram. II)	Louvre C 148	B.II.141
<i>htmw biṯy swr n <u>hnw</u></i>	Sealer of Upper and Lower Egypt who drinks in the <u>hnw</u>	<i>Sw-m-nwt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 92	B.II.31
<i>t3ty n niwt rst n <u>hnw</u></i>	Vizier of the Southern city and the <u>hnw</u>	<i>Rḥ-mi-r'</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	TT 100	B.II.33

Titles that pertain to the administration of specific properties and buildings of the hnw, are those referring to the management of the stable (*iḥw*) of the hnw.⁶⁰⁵ These titles can be considered together with those claiming the office of charioteer (*kdn*) in the hnw. All these titles developed starting from the 19th Dynasty, most of all referring to the hnw as synonymous of the new capital of the Ramessid Dynasty, Piramesse (*R'-mssw-mri-'Imn*).⁶⁰⁶ These officials probably supervised cattle and other animals in the new residence city (hnw).

The stable-master (<i>ḥry-iḥw</i>) and the charioteer (<i>kdn</i>) of the <u>hnw</u>				
<i>ḥry iḥw n <u>hnw</u></i>	stable master of the <u>hnw</u>	<i>Pth-m-wi3</i> (Ram. II)	BM 167	B.II.140
		<i>'Imn-htp</i> (Ram. II)	Sehel	B.II.142
		<i>Nfr-'bw</i> (Ram. II)	pCG C58059	B.II.143
		<i>Wn-t3-w3t</i> (Ram. II)	Buhen 4	B.II.150
		<i>P3-ḥm-ntr</i> (Ram. II)	OIC. 11731	B.II.151
		<i>Wnn-nfr</i> (Meren.)	BM 154	B.II.158
		<i>Nḥt-'Imn</i> (Ram. III)	Megiddo	B.II.161
		<i>P3-ḥm-ntr</i> (Ram. III)	CG 25769	B.II.162
		<i>P3-sr</i> (Ram. III)	Medinet Habu 3	B.II.161
		<i>'Imn-m-ipt</i> (Ram.)	TT 148	B.II.164

⁶⁰⁵ These tiles may be considered a late development of those reported in the Old Kingdom documentation referring to the administration of the hnw's cattle, in: Goelet 1982: 126 ff.

⁶⁰⁶ Gardiner 1918.

		III) <i>Wn(-t3)-w'</i> (Ram. IX) <i>Wn-w'3t</i> (Ram. IX) <i>Wn-t3-w3t</i> (Ram. IX) <i>Hrī</i> (19 th Dyn.)	Semna 2 BM 792 Pennsylvania University Museum E. 10990 BM 132	B.II.169 B.II.170 B.II.171 B.II.180
<i>hry iḥw n hnw</i>	Stable master of the <i>hnw</i>	<i>Pth-m-wi3</i> (Ram. II) <i>'Imn-ḥtp</i> (Ram. II) <i>Nfr-'bw</i> (Ram. II) <i>Wn-t3-w3t</i> (Ram. II) <i>P3-ḥm-ntr</i> (Ram. II) <i>Wnn-nfr</i> (Merenptah) <i>Nḥt-'Imn</i> (Ram. III) <i>P3-ḥm-ntr</i> (Ram. III) <i>P3-sr</i> (Ram. III) <i>'Imn-m-ipt</i> (Ram. III) <i>Wn(-t3)-w'</i> (Ram. IX) <i>Wn-w'3t</i> (Ram. IX) <i>Wn-t3-w3t</i> (Ram. IX) <i>Hrī</i> (19 th Dyn.)	BM 167 Sehel pCG C58059 Buhen 4 OIC. 11731 BM 154 Megiddo CG 25769 Medinet Habu 3 TT 148 Semna 2 BM 792 Pennsylvania University Museum E. 10990 BM 132	B.II.140 B.II.142 B.II.143 B.II.150 B.II.151 B.II.158 B.II.161 B.II.162 B.II.161 B.II.164 B.II.169 B.II.170 B.II.171 B.II.180
<i>hry iḥw (..) 'Imn mri n hnw hnw</i>	Stable-master (beloved) of Amun, of the <i>hnw</i>	<i>Nḥt-mntw</i>	Ram. II	B.II.131
<i>hry (..) n p3 iḥw '3 n R'-mssw-mri-'Imn 'nḥ wd3 snb n hnw</i>	The stable master of the great stable of <i>R'-mssw-mri-'Imn</i> l. p. h. of the <i>hnw</i>	? (Merenptah)	pSallier I	B.I.69
<i>kdn n p3 iḥw pr-'3 n B3-R'-mry 'Imn hny</i>	Charioteer of the great stable of the Pharaoh of <i>B3-R'-</i>	? (Merenptah)	pBM 10246b - pAnastasi III verso	B.I.68

(=h _n w)	mry 'l _m n l. p. h. of the h _n w			
k _d n tpy n h _m .f n p3 i _h w '3 n Wsr-m3't-r' Stp-n-r' n [h _n w]	First charioteer of His Majesty in the great stable of Wsr-m3't-r' Stp-n-r' in the [h _n w]	'l _m n-w'-n[..] (Ram. IX)	Victoria Museum	B.II.174
k _d n tpy n h _m .f n p3 i _h w '3 n R'-mssw-mri- 'l _m n n h _n w	First charioteer of His Majesty in the great stable of R'-mssw-mri-'l _m n in the h _n w	B3k (19 th Dyn.)	Louvre C 96	B.II.178

2.10 The term *stp-s3* in official monuments and narrative inscriptions

The compound *stp-s3* is unique among the five words used for “palace” because it can be used both as verbal expression and noun.⁶⁰⁷ When used in verbal compounds in New Kingdom texts, it is written without the *pr*-determinative and it usually means “to protect”, “to escort”,⁶⁰⁸ recalling the most frequent usage of the term in the Old Kingdom.⁶⁰⁹

The term *stp-s3*, enriched with the adding of the *pr*-sign as determinative from the early 12th Dynasty onwards, is object of another important change starting from the New Kingdom: the expression 'n_h w_d3 snb⁶¹⁰ is frequently added after the word with the beginning of the 18th Dynasty.⁶¹¹

A number of instances of the term *stp-s3* in narrative passages in official and private inscriptions involves the prepositional phrase *m stp-s3* in conjunction with such verbs as *dd*, “to speak” and *wd*, “to order” in expressions which suppose the king’s decision-making process:⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁷ Goelet 1982: 443.

⁶⁰⁸ Examples of the term *pr-'3* with verbal meaning have not been included in the catalog. For instances of this kind of usage of the word see Goelet 1982: notes 60-61.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*: 443-444.

⁶¹⁰ A general discussion of the use of this expression and its close relation to the king can be found in GEG: 239, § 313.

⁶¹¹ Goelet 1986: 95.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*: 97.

<i>stp-s3</i> in verbal compound with <i>dd</i>, <i>sdm</i> and <i>wd</i>				
<i>wd.n.i m stp-s3</i> <i>'nh wd3 snb hr</i> <i>k3t ib hmt.s r kd ..</i>	I commanded in the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h., planning the desire of her Majesty to build ..	<i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.)	TT 71	B.II.41
<i>mī wddt m stp-s3</i> <i>'nh wd3 snb</i>	As commanded in the <i>stp-s3</i> (l. p. h.!)	Hatsh. <i>Sn-n-Mwt</i> (Hatsh.)	Deir el-Bahari 3 CG 579	B.I.12 B.II.47
<i>imy-r pr pr-3</i>	Overseer of the estate of the <i>pr-3</i>	<i>H'-m-h3t</i> (Am. III)	TT 57	B.II.75
<i>imy-r gs pr n pr-3</i>	Overseer of the side of the estate of the <i>pr-3</i>	<i>H'-m-h3t</i> (Am. III)	TT 57	B.II.75
<i>nfrw mdwt tn ddt</i> <i>hr.sn sdm nt nw</i> <i>m stp-s3 'nh wd3</i> <i>snb</i>	How perfect is this speech that was said before us, which we have heard in the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h.	Thut. III	Karnak 4	B.I.4
<i>spr hm n stp-s3</i> <i>'nh wd3 snb r rwd</i> <i>n nb ntrw sdm wd</i> <i>m st-wrt ndwt-r3</i> <i>nt ntr ds.f d'r</i> <i>w3wt r Pwnt</i>	Petition of the Majesty of the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h. to the stairs of the Lord of the gods and instructions were heard from the Great Throne, an oracle from the god himself: "explore the routes to <i>Pwnt</i> (..)"	Hatsh.	Deir el-Bahari 3	B.I.12
<i>st3 srw smrw nw</i> <i>stp-s3 r sdm s3m</i> <i>n wdt</i>	Walk of officials and courtiers of the <i>stp-s3</i> to hear the guide of the command	Hatsh.	Dei el Bahari 3	B.I.12
<i>ddt w3d(t)</i> <i>3wy.tw m hm n</i> <i>stp-s3 'nh wd3</i> <i>snb m hrw pn</i>	Decree addressed in the Majesty of the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h. on this day	Sety I Rameses II	Abydos 2 Elephantine	B.I.33 B.I.58
<i>Ddd(w)t m hm n</i> <i>stp-s3 'nh wd3</i> <i>snb</i>	What was said before the Majesty of the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h.	Ahmoose Thut. III Thut. III Ram. II <i>Nfr-prt-r'</i>	Karnak 2 Karnak 5 Semna 1 MMA 54.185 CG 42121	B.I.3 B.I.6 B.I.7 B.I.46 B.II.12

The donation stele of Queen Ahmoose Nefertari (B.I.3) records her appointment as Second Priest of Amun during the reign of king Ahmoose. The opening section describes the decision-making process to give the office of Second Priest of Amun to Nefertari according

to “what was said *m hm stp-s3* on this day”, *dddt m hm n stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb m hrw*, “in the presence of the councillors of the territory of Thebes and the temple priesthood of Amun”, *m-b3h [knbtyw]nw s3tw niwt wnt nw s3tw niwt wnt hwt-ntr nt 'lmn*.

Text referring to the expedition to *Pwnt* on the middle colonnade of the southern wall of the Temple of Deir el-Bahari (B.I.12) describes the ceremony commissioned by Hatshepsut in honour of Amun, during which all the goods from *Pwnt* would have been brought before the god. In this section Hatshepsut asks the consult of Amun, who speaks to the Queen as if it was before the expedition had taken place:

<i>spr hm n stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb r rwd n nb ntrw sdm</i> <i>wd m st-wrt ndwt-r3 nt ntr ds.f d'r w3wt r Pwnt</i>	Petition of the Majesty of the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h. to the stairs of the Lord of the gods and instructions were heard from the great throne, an oracle from the god himself: “explore the routes to <i>Pwnt</i> (..)”
--	---

In the following section, after having presented the goods of *Pwnt* to Amun, a royal audience which took place to announce the succession of the mission to *Pwnt* to the courtiers is described:

<i>rnpt 9 hpr hmst m d3dw h'i(t) nswt m shmty hr st</i> <i>wrt nt d'm hnw dsrw nw 'h.f st3 srw smrw nw</i> <i>stp-s3 r sdm ssm n wd</i>	In the 9 th year the Queen was in the audience hall; appearance of the king in the double crown on the great throne of gold in the holy <i>hnw</i> of his 'h; walk of officials and courtiers of the <i>stp-s3</i> to hear the guide of the command.
---	---

In the same section there are representations of three men who were present at a sort of meeting in which palace business was discussed and organized.⁶¹³ Two men have the same inscription above them (*nswt špsw srw nw stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb*, “Dignitaries and officials of the *stp-s3*, l. p. h.”), while the caption accompanying a third man makes reference to the royal command *n stp-s3*, l. p. h. to send army to *Pwnt*:

<i>ist wd nt(w) m hm n stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb n rp-'t</i> <i>h3ty-' nswt htmw smr w'ty imy-r htmw Nhsy r</i> <i>sbi(t) mš3 [r] Pwnt</i>	Command of the Majesty in the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h. to the Hereditary prince, Mayor, sealer of the king, sole companion and sealer <i>Nhsy</i> to send army to <i>Pwnt</i>
---	---

⁶¹³ Shaw 2010: 186.

Shaw states that “in this case it would seem right to consider the entire audience taking place as *stp-s3* – a meeting in which palace business as royal service was discussed and organized”.⁶¹⁴

An inscription from Semna (A.I.8), on the exterior face of the east wall of the temple of *Ddwn*, dated to the second regnal year of Thutmose III, records the royal order to the Overseer of the Southern Land (Nubia) to guarantee offerings to all the gods of the temple. The titling of the king is followed immediately by the expression *dddt m hm n stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb*, “what was said *m hm n stp-s3*, l. p. h.”

In the section of the Annals of Thutmose III (B.I.6) where the stop of the army at the town of Yehem is described, a consultation (*ndwt-r*) took place between the king and his “victorious army” in order to discuss which road to take to the city. The final decision is introduced by the formula “what was said *m hm n stp-s3*” and consisted in proceeding to the Aruna road.⁶¹⁵ Using the example of Thutmose III's use of term *stp-s3* in the Annals, Goelet has suggested that the *stp-s3* may mean a temporary residence and that it could refer to a movable royal building, such as a “council tent”, since this event occurred beyond the borders of Egypt.⁶¹⁶

The *stp-s3* is again presented in relation to a royal decision in the Nauri Decree of Sety I (B.I.33), reporting a series of regulations concerning the king's temple at Abydos. The contents of the decree begin with a variation of the aforementioned most common expression and it is addressed to all the officials and high authorities of the royal sphere:

ddt w3d(t) 3wy.tw m hm n stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb m A decree (which was) issued *m hm n stp-s3*, l. p.
hrw pn h. on this day

A text found at Elephantine (B.I.58) and dated back to the reign of Rameses III follows a pattern similar to that of Sety I's Nauri decree and is presented again as a command that was issued (*3wy.tw*) *m hm n stp-s3*, l. p. h.⁶¹⁷ It is likely that the text would contain regulations made for the temple of Khnum at Elephantine.

Another Ramessid example is represented by stele MMA 54.185 from the reign of Rameses II recording endowments for the Ramesseum (B.I.46). A long list of items is followed by the

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 186.

⁶¹⁵ URK IV: 651, 1-6.

⁶¹⁶ Goelet 1986: 97.

⁶¹⁷ Shaw 2010: 188.

expression *ddwt m hm stp-s3 m hrw pn*, “what was said before the Majesty of the *stp-s3* on this day” referring to the royal command of bringing offerings from the temple of Amun-Ra.

During a royal audience, the courtiers tell to Thutmose III “how perfect is this speech that was said before us, which we have heard in the *stp-s3*, l. p. h.” (B.I.4), suggesting that the orders were not only drawn up in the *stp-s3*, but they were also approved by the high officials in the presence of the king; this makes suppose that some kind of consultative function was involved in the *stp-s3* itself.⁶¹⁸

According to Goelet, being the king involved in this decision-process - as suggested by the expression *m hm n stp-s3* - these passages could refer to some kind of royal council where affairs of state were discussed.⁶¹⁹ In a recent article, Garry J. Shaw has discussed the proper meaning of the phrase *m hm n stp-s3* by comparing all the examples I have listed before, proposing a re-reading of the expression. He assumes that the *hm* element does not refer to the physical person of the king because “although the king is explicitly cited as the source of some speeches and commands made *m hm n stp-s3*, it would appear that acts could be performed *m hm n stp-s3* on the primary authority of courtiers. (..) It would thus appear that commands and directives could be issued by official performing *stp-s3* in order to realize royal desire, and that the king might only be consulted for permission”.⁶²⁰ The focus of the discussion is whether the meaning of *stp-s3* would have truly evolved to mean a physical palace during the Middle Kingdom and afterwards, or whether it should be considered a type of activity, specifically a *stp-s3* “service” in Shaw’s definition.⁶²¹ It must be noted that in most New Kingdom examples the use of term *stp-s3* suggests the meaning of some form of body court, committee, or royal meeting. Such a meeting between the king and the courtiers must have taken place in a physical location giving origin to the *stp-s3* as place with a *pr*-determinative. The most significant examples from which a “palace”-meaning can be assumed are those implying a physical movement of persons and things, such as in the context of gift-giving and exchange of products from foreign countries. In the section of Gebel Barkal stele of Thutmose III (B.I.8) describing the delivery of Nubian taxes it is stated as follows:

⁶¹⁸ Goelet 1982: 456.

⁶¹⁹ Goelet 1986: 97.

⁶²⁰ Shaw 2010: 189.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*: 189.

l. 28) mdḥt wi m-r stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb tnw rnpt nbt m ḥmtyw ḥr 'h'w 'š3 r iswt 'prw ḥrw-r b3kw stīw m 3bw ḥbny There were built there for *stp-s3*, l. p. h., each and every day *ḥmtyw*-ships and many *'h'w*-ships, more then there are crews of sailors in addition to the tributes [...] the bedouin of Asia in ivory and ebony.

The passage of the same text referring to *D3hy* in the Levant describes the delivery of Lebanese wood and other precious goods to the *stp-s3*.

l. 30) mdḥ n.i [m D3hy] tnw rnpt nbt m 'š m3' n Rmn inw r stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb There is hewn for me in *D3hy* each and every year consisting of real *'š*-wood of Lebanon

l. 46-8) [...] wrw nbw rmnn dpwt-nswt r šḥnt im.sn r int bi3yt nbt [...] [ḥ] nt-t3 r stp-s3 ('nh wd3 snb) All the princes of Lebanon [...] the royal ships, to travel south therein, to fetch all kinds of precious goods [...] the southern land, to *stp-s3* (l. p. h.).

Hatshepsut's inscription from Deir el-Bahari (B.I.12) mentions the royal order to offer gifts *m stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb* to the chiefs and gods of *Pwnt*:

spr wpwt-nswt r T3-ntr ḥn' mš' nty m-ḥt.f tp-m wrw nw Pwnt sb m iḥt nbt nfrt m stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb n Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt Pwnt Ḥr(-tp) 'nh wd3 ḥmt.s Arrival by the envoy of the king in the God's Land together with the expedition who was accompanying him before the princes of *Pwnt*. Bringing of every good thing from the *stp-s3* (l. p. h.) to Hathor, mistress of *Pwnt*, for the life, prosperity and health of Her Majesty.

2.11 The term *stp-s3* in titles and epithets

As far as the usage of the term *stp-s3* in epithets is concerned, the word becomes frequently used in expressions connected in some manner with verb *ḥsi*, "to praise/to favor",⁶²² as shown by the following phrases:

<i>stp-s3</i> in verbal compounds with verb <i>ḥsi</i>, "to praise/to favor"				
<i>pr(w) (m)</i> <i>ḥsi/ḥsw m stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb</i>	One who comes forth praises/favors from the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>P3-nw-ny</i> (Thut. III)	Turin (a)	B.II.12
		<i>'Imn-ḥtp</i> (Am. III)	CG 583	B.II.73
		<i>Tnwn3</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 76	B.II.56
		<i>Ḥr-m-ḥb</i> (Thut. IV)	TT 78	B.II.57
		<i>Ḥwy</i> (Tut.)	TT 40	B.II.103

⁶²² GEG: 582. Wb III: 159.

<i>mn mrt m pr-nswt nb ḥsw m stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Firm of love in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , Lord of praises/favors in the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>i'ḥ</i> (17 th Dyn.) <i>i3ḥ-ms-Nḥbt</i> (17 th Dyn.)	Louvre C 49 Elkab 1	B.II.1 B.II.2
<i>mn ḥsw m stp-s3 ('nh wd3 snb)</i>	Firm of praises/favors in the <i>stp-s3</i> (l. p. h.)	<i>Rmn-ii-'nh</i> (12 th Dyn.) <i>'Imn-m-ḥ3t</i> (Thut. III – Am. II) <i>Sw-m-nwt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II) <i>Tn(w)-ny</i> (Thut. III – Thut. IV) <i>Sn-n-mwt</i> (Hatsh.) <i>Ḥk3-r-nḥḥ</i> (Thut. IV) <i>Sbk-ḥtp</i> (Thut. IV) <i>'Imn-ḥtp</i> (Am. III) <i>'3nn</i>	CG 20748 TT 97 TT 92 TT 74 BM 174 TT 64 TT 63 CG 583 Turin (b)	A.II.123 B.II.30 B.II.31 B.II.38 B.II.44 B.II.55 B.II.63 B.II.73 B.II.74

In stele Louvre C 49 (B.II.1), *i'ḥ* is commemorated as “firm of love in the *pr-nswt*, Lord of praises/favors in the *stp-s3*, l. p. h.”. Other private inscriptions contain epithetical expressions involving *mrwt*, “love” and *im3t*, “grace”.⁶²³

<i>mrwt</i>, “love” and <i>im3t</i>, “grace” + <i>stp-s3</i>				
<i>mrwt m stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Beloved in the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Ḳn-'Imn</i> (Am. II.)	TT 93	B.II.52
<i>nb im3t m stp-s3</i>	Possessor of graciousness in the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>Mn-ḥpr-snb</i> (Thut. III) <i>'Imn-m-ipt</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	Cairo 547 TT 96	B.II.14 B.II.26
<i>ḥmt.s mri.n.s wi rh.n.s ikrw.i m stp-s3</i>	Her Majesty loved me, she having recognized my qualities in the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>'Inny</i> (Am. I – Hatsh.)	TT 81	B.II.6

Since the Middle Kingdom onwards people could be described as “beloved *m stp-s3*” or “favored *m stp-s3*”.⁶²⁴ All these expressions show the *stp-s3* as a place or a group of people

⁶²³ Goelet 1986: 96.

⁶²⁴ See paragraph above: § 1.12.

from which the title owner had to get approval. Whether a ceremonial bestowal would take place on specific occasions before the king and an audience of high officials is not clear.⁶²⁵

The interpretation of the *stp-s3* as a councilor body rather than as a physical place is suggested by the causative verb *shri*, “to make content” in the expression *r3 shri m stp-s3*, “mouth that made *stp-s3* content” on the statue of *Mr pr wr 'Imn-ḥtp* from Memphis (B.II.168).⁶²⁶

People called *smrw*, “companions”, *w'*, “the only one” or *wrw*, “great ones” are connected with the *stp-s3* in titles such as the following:

<i>smrw</i>, “companions”/<i>wrw</i>, “great ones” + <i>stp-s3</i>				
<i>iw.f w'ty n stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb</i>	He is the one in the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Ḥ'-m-ḥ3t</i> (Am. III)	TT 57	B.II.75
<i>wr ḥntyw m stp-s3</i>	Great foremost of the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>Sm-m-i3ḥ</i> (Hatsh.)	TT 127	B.II.46
<i>st3 srw smrw nw stp-s3 r sdm sšm n wdt</i>	Walk of officials and courtiers of the <i>stp-s3</i> to hear the guide of the command	Hatsh.	Dei el Bahari 3	B.I.12
<i>smrw ib stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Companions of heart of the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Hr(i)w.f</i> (Am. III)	TT 192	B.II.79

Indications that offices may have been attached to this institution are rarely encountered.⁶²⁷ *Nb-'Imn* states that he was butler (*wdpw*) *m stp-s3*, while *'In-ḥt.f* records that his function (*wnwt*)⁶²⁸ were *m stp-s3*.

Offices attached to the <i>stp-s3</i>				
<i>wdpw m stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb</i>	Butler in the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>Nb-'Imn</i> (Thut. I-II)	TT 24	B.II.3
<i>i3wt.i pw m pr-nswt 'nh wd3 snb wnw.t.i pw m stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb</i>	This was my office in the <i>pr-nswt</i> , l. p. h.; this was my duty in the <i>stp-s3</i> , l. p. h.	<i>'In-ḥt.f</i> (Thut. III)	Louvre C 26	B.II.10

Significant information is given by the inscription on the statue Florence 2565 of vizier *Dḥwty-msw*, who states that he was “one who has access to the sacred place (*dsrw*) in the

⁶²⁵ Goelet 1986: 96.

⁶²⁶ GEG: 579. Wb II: 496-7.

⁶²⁷ Gitton 1986: 97.

⁶²⁸ GEG: 561.

stp-s3” suggesting a location of the *stp-s3* near the inner and less accessible royal places, such as the throne room.⁶²⁹ Other sentences simply describe the movement of the inscription owner in the *stp-s3*, without referring to any specific activity in the building.⁶³⁰ Courtiers can present themselves as “free of foot in the *stp-s3*” or mention that they “came out in peace in the *stp-s3*”, in expressions that simply establish a connection between the owner and the *stp-s3* institution, without giving any additional information about its function.

<i>‘k hr dsrw m stp-s3 ‘nh wd3 snb</i>	One who has access to the sacred place in the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>Dḥwty-msw</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	Florence 2565	B.II.69
<i>wstn rd m stp-s3 ddi</i>	One who walked around in the <i>stp-s3</i> (lit. “free of foot in the <i>stp-s3</i>)	<i>Dḥwty</i> (Thut. III – Hatsh.)	TT 11	B.II.24
<i>nn iw sph im stp-s3</i>	No fault of mine came out in the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>Dw3-r-nḥḥ</i> (Thut. III – Am. II)	Thebes ?	B.II.35

Examples referring to the decision-making process are known even in private inscriptions employing variants of the expressions *wddt m stp-s3*, “what was ordered in the *stp-s3*” or *dddt m stp-s3*, “what was said in the *stp-s3*” already mentioned as regards narrative texts.⁶³¹ In his statue CG 579 from the temple of Mut (B.II.47) *Sn-n-Mwt* reminds to have completed some kind of works (*k3wt*), clearly related to temples construction, “in accord with what was commanded *stp-s3*, l. p. h.”

l. 8) *s’3w smnhw*

l. 9) *k3wt nn sh hr mī wdt m stp-s3 ‘nh wd3 snb
wd.n.f wnn [hr s..]*

l. 10) *n ‘3t mnḥ.f hr-ib ḥpr n m(i) wdt ‘k3w mnḥ
m irt mī st ib nt ḥm.f r.s*

One who makes the works great and excellent.

(I’m) not deaf to what was commanded in the *stp-s3*, l. p. h. It was commanded to me to be [on account]

of the greatness of his excellent in the heart. One excellent in acting in accord with the desire of His Majesty over it.

A reference to a command made in the *stp-s3*, this time by *Sn-n-Mwt* himself, comes from the inscription on the south wall of the axial corridor in his Theban tomb no. 71 (B.II.41):

⁶²⁹ Hoffmeier has argued that term *dsrw* could be intended as a throne room, see Hoffmeier 1985: 177 ff. For a recent interpretation of the term see Hirsh 2009: 75-6.

⁶³⁰ Also the Queen Hatshepsut is described while approaching to the *stp-s3* in her inscription from Deir el-Bahari on the expedition to *Pwnt* (B.I.12). See paragraph above: § 2.10.

⁶³¹ Goelet 1986: 97.

*ddw n.i ntt m ib swdw n.i [imnt]
wd.n.i m stp-s3 'nh wd3 snb hr k3t ib hmt.s r kd ..*

What is in the heart is spoken to me, what is [hidden] is revealed to me. I commanded in the *stp-s3*, l. p. h., planning the desire of her Majesty to build..

This passage offers an example of a private individual taking responsibility for commands made in the *stp-s3*, l. p. h. and it is probably due to *Sn-n-Mwt*'s exceptional position under Hatshepsut.⁶³²

A kneeling statue dated to the reign of Thutmose III records the return of its owner *Nfr-prt-r'* from Syria (CG 42121 - B.II.12), from where he brought away several goods in order to offer them to the mortuary temple of Thutmose III. The text records the decision made *m hm n stp-s3* allowing *Nfr-prt-r'* to continue tending his herd after the expedition abroad:

l. 14) 'k hr.s imy-r rwti Nb-sny ii hr.s sš nswt

The overseer of the gateway *Nb-sny* entered concerning it; and the royal scribe

l. 15) 'Imn-ms dddt m hm n stp-s3

'Imn-ms came concerning it. What was said before the Majesty of the *stp-s3*

l. 16) 'nh wd3 snb iw.sn r ht.k m hrw.k

l. p. h.. "They shall be under your authority through your days of life. As for after you have attained old age, they shall be from son to son, heir

l. 17) n 'nh ir m ht i3w.n.k

l. 18) iw.sn m s3 n s3 iw'

to heir. Do not give them to the *hnw*, (that is) the overseer of the cattle.

l. 19) m iw' m rdi.st r hnw imy-r ihw

l. 20) ir iwty nb r mdwt m rdi sdm

l. 21) tw n.sn m h3 nswt

As for anyone who shall come to claim, do not allow them to be heard in any office of the king.

As regards this text, Garry J. Shaw has recently stressed that the decision *m hm n stp-s3* is recorded without any explicit reference to an action made by the king in the text and has used this inscription as example to support his re-interpretation of the expression *m hm n stp-s3*: according to him, the term *hm* would not refer to the king, but rather to "an act of *stp-s3* "service" performed by officials in order to realize royal desire.⁶³³ The statement recorded in the text would seem to have been made before two officials: the overseer of the gateway (*imy-r rwti*) *Nb-sny* and the royal scribe (*sš nswt*) *'Imn-ms*. However, the context of the text does not allow to determine whether the case of *Nfr-prt-r'* was brought before the king himself or not.⁶³⁴

⁶³² Shaw 2010: 182.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*: 188.

⁶³⁴ The idea that a royal proclamation had been issued is firmly supported by Redford 2003: 166 no. 9, 167.

In tomb TT 90 (B.II.58) *Nb-’Imn*’s promotion to Chief of Police is presented as “a command issued (*w3d(t)-3w*) *m hm n stp-s3*, l. p. h.”:

c. 1) <i>rnpt 6</i>	Year 6.
c. 2) <i>w3d(t)-3w(yt)</i>	A command issued
c. 3) <i>m hm n stp-s3 ’nh wd3 snb m hrw</i>	in the Majesty of the <i>stp-s3</i> l. p. h. on this day
c. 4) <i>pn n h3ty-’ tsw ’h’w</i>	to the mayor, commander of the fleet
c. 5) <i>nw Šm’w T3-mhw t3 w3d</i>	of southern and northern Egypt. The command
c. 6) <i>n hm ’nh wd3 snb šsp i3wt nfrwt m hsw [nt hr]nswt r irt</i>	as said: “My Majesty, l. p. h., has commanded the receiving of a good old age in favors [before the] king, in order to settle the affairs of the
c. 7) <i>hrtw n t3yw sryt Nb[-’Imn]n nswt h’w [’Imn]-mrwt wn ph.n.f i3wt iw.f hr šms pr-’3 ’nh wd3 snb mtt n ib.f</i>	Standard-bearer <i>Nb[-’Imn]</i> of the king’s boats Beloved of [Amun]”. He reached the old age, he is on following the <i>pr-’3</i> , l. p. h. (and) his rectitude.

Considering the available sources from a chronological point of view, it is possible to observe a progressive decrease in the frequency of usage of the term starting from the Ramessid Period onwards.

2.12 The palaces at Karnak, Memphis and Piramesse

References to a palace of Karnak, frequently named as *’h n ’lpt-Swt*, are really common in the texts of the New Kingdom and the Late Period. These documents can be divided in two groups:⁶³⁵ those referring to the palace as royal residence, used to host the king visiting the western side of Thebes for a short or long stay-term, which are mainly dated back to the reign of Hatshepsut; and those mentioning the palace as a religious building, a temple or a chapel, used as place for ceremonies of the royal ritual.⁶³⁶

Textual evidence from the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III clearly locates the official Theban palace on the western bank of the Nile, across from Karnak, in the hillside of Dra Abu el-Naga and Taref.⁶³⁷ Thutmose III was crowned at Thebes (*h’i*) and a *d3dw n imy wrt*, an “audience” taking place “in the West”, is attested at the time of Thutmose III and

⁶³⁵ Gitton 1974: 9.

⁶³⁶ In Horemheb’s decree Amun is said to have placed the crown on Horemheb’s head in the ‘*h*’ of Thebes; “it is clear that a temple, not a dwelling-place of an earthly king was the scene of the actual coronation”, in Gardiner 1953: 25.

⁶³⁷ Stadelmann 2001: 15.

Hatshepsut in inscriptions from the Festival Hall of Karnak⁶³⁸ (B.I.5) and Deir-el-Bahari (B.I.11), in the last one explicitly connected to the term *‘h*.⁶³⁹ Similarly, Amenhotep III ordered an expedition to Sinai while he was in the southern city in his palace of Thebes (*W3st*): *n nīwt rst [m ‘h.f hr īmy] wrt n W3st*.⁶⁴⁰

The frequent location of the palace *n īmy wrt*, “on the west” has been used by Egyptological literature as the strongest argument for locating the royal building on the west bank of the Nile.⁶⁴¹ However, this is not the only possible interpretation of the phrase, which could instead simply mean that the palace was located west of the Karnak temple.⁶⁴² Other scholars in fact prefer an east location for the Theban palace, near the principal temple of Amun-Ra at Karnak.⁶⁴³

The Coronation Text of Hatshepsut (B.I.9), carved on the blocks of the Red Chapel found in the third pylon of the temple of Karnak, cites many times the *‘h nswt*, “the palace of the king” with the name *nn w3ī-r.f*. This document has a parallel in the more ruined inscription of Deir el-Bahari (B.I.10).⁶⁴⁴ The lost beginning of the Coronation Text was probably about the oracular exit of the Amun’s boat introducing in the context of a ceremonial event.⁶⁴⁵ The following part of the text mentions the *‘h*-palace:

<i>spr hm.f r tp ītrw hr by3y.t ‘3t wrt r sb3wy n ‘h nswt nty hr gs n hrt wdhw</i>	His Majesty arrives to the head of the river for a very big oracle to the double gates of the <i>‘h</i> of the king which is on the side of the road of the offerings ⁶⁴⁶
--	---

According to Gitton, the expression “head of the river” (*tp ītrw*) refers to the T-shaped basin, which served to moor the god’s boat and should have been aligned with the temple

⁶³⁸ Inscription on blocks from the Festival Hall at Karnak reporting acknowledgements of Thutmose III to Amun for the great victory accorded to him at Megiddo. The date (“Regnal Year after 23, first month of Summer, day 2”) is followed by the words: *hpr hmst nswt m d3dw [n īmy] wrt*, “there occurred a sitting of the king in the audience hall of the West”. Gardiner 1952a: 9, Pl. II. See also the inscriptions from the tomb no. 131 of the vizier *Wsr* in URK IV: 1380, 15.

⁶³⁹ *hpr hmst nswt sndm d3dw n īmy wrt*, “there occurred a sitting of the king in the audience hall of the West” (B.I.12, ll. 8-9), in URK IV: 256, 17; 349, 10.

⁶⁴⁰ URK IV: 1891, 6.

⁶⁴¹ Helck 1958: 204-206. Helck 1968: 117 ff. Stadelmann 1985: 694-711.

⁶⁴² Redford 1973: 89. See also O’Connor’s discussion on meaning of *n īmy wrt* in O’Connor 1995: 275.

⁶⁴³ Otto 1952: 25-26. Redford 1973: 88-90. Gitton 1974: 72-3.

⁶⁴⁴ Lacau - Chevrier 1977-79: §162-163.

⁶⁴⁵ Gitton 1974: 64. Posener 1963: 98-102.

⁶⁴⁶ See the French translation: “Sa Majesté (le dieu) arrive à la «Tête-du-Canal», en rendant un très grand oracle en direction de la double porte du palais royal qui est sur le bord de la route des offrandes”, in Gitton 1974: 64.

of Amun.⁶⁴⁷ The “road of the offerings” should have been the way crossing from the quay to the temple entrance.⁶⁴⁸

A second mention of the palace is contained in another passage of the text with reference to Hatshepsut making oracles at the entrance of the ‘*h*’:

<i>wn in hm nb r dr shd n.hr.f r i3bt hr by3.t r sb3wy imnt ‘h n wsh̄t nt nn w3t r.f nty hr m3’ n tp itrw in rs nbt t3wy m hnw dsrw nw ‘h.s</i>	The Majesty of the Lord of the Universe had his head inclined to the east making an oracle to the western double gate of the ‘ <i>h</i> in the hall <i>nt nn w3t r.f nty hr m3’</i> which is on the bank of the head of the river. The Lady of the Two Lands came from inside the splendors of her ‘ <i>h</i> . ⁶⁴⁹
---	--

This section cites a second double gate other than the one *hr gs n hrt wdhw*, “on the side of the road of the offerings” mentioned above and locates it *hr m3’ n tp itrw*, “on the bank of a river”. The *nbt t3wy*, a title quite certainly referred to Hatshepsut, is described while coming from the private interior of her ‘*h*.⁶⁵⁰ It is likely that the *dsrw* of the palace was a specific room within the building where the bark of Amun stationed during its procession.⁶⁵¹ The same expression *dsrw hnw ‘h* can be found in another text of the Queen recording the expedition to *Pwnt* in her 9th year of reign, where the appearance of the king with the Atef-crown on the throne of electrum within the *dsrt* of the palace is described (B.I.12).⁶⁵² The expression ‘*h (n) wsh̄t.f*, indicating “the hall of the palace”, should be referred to a particular section of the ‘*h* which could be compared to the ‘*ht n wsh̄t* in the palace of Medinet Habu (B.I.56), probably referring to the court of the temple which served as place of king’s apparitions.

After a long passage a third section refers again to the palace as follows:

<i>spr hm.f r h̄d špš rwty wrty n nbt t3wy st is nswt šms r hwt nt ‘Imn ‘k hm.f r h̄nt(y) ‘h n nn w3i-r.f pr ‘Imn</i>	His Majesty arrives to the venerable chapel, and (?) the double great gate of the Lady of the Two Lands for the establishment of the royal escort to the temple of Amun. His Majesty (the god) enters into the front of the palace named <i>nn w3i-r.f</i> ,
---	--

⁶⁴⁷ The original T-shaped basin must have been aligned with the Amun temple as that preserved which was built later by Sheshonq II. Gitton 1974: 64.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: 66.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 68.

⁶⁵⁰ The same expression is used also in another text of the same period and from the same site: *mnw* (without the *pr*-determinative) *dsrw ‘h.f*, in URK IV: 349, 12. See Gitton 1974: 69.

⁶⁵¹ Hirsch 2009:75.

⁶⁵² URK IV: 349, 12.

house of Amun".⁶⁵³

According to Gitton, there is no doubt that the double great gate of the Lady of the Two Lands is the gate to the 'h (*rwty wrty n nbt t3wy*) through which the ending procession reenters to the palace.⁶⁵⁴ The specification *pr 'lmn* lets assume that the 'h was intended more as religious or ceremonial building rather than as a "secular" one.

That described in the text seems a building owned by the Queen before taking power, probably inherited from his father; the name does not make allusion to any king and it only marks the closeness the 'h to the temple of Amun.⁶⁵⁵ The structure built within the enclosure of Amun, *m pr-'lmn*, in front of the temple, along the access road, and was equipped with a court (*wsht*).⁶⁵⁶ A first entry was located in the axial path connecting the door of the IV pylon to the T-shaped basin, where the Amun boat arrived; it was the so called "double gate of the Lady of the Two Lands" and was probably located on the northern side of the dromos.⁶⁵⁷ A second access to the building was oriented to the river. Considering its position on the left side of the access of the Temple, the palace of Karnak should have been very similar to the so-called Million-Years Palaces of the 19th Dynasty.⁶⁵⁸ The exact location of the building and its dimensions are unknown, but they could be reconstructed on the basis of a comparison with other structures of this kind.⁶⁵⁹

From a chronological point of view, Hatshepsut's building would have fallen into disuse at the end of the 18th Dynasty, when Amenhotep III began the construction of the 3rd Pylon, which would have hindered the entry to the structure.

Regarding the function of this building, its connection with the procession of the Amun boat lets suppose a ritual use on occasion of specific ceremonies, during which it could have served to host the king as temporary residence.

The existence of a 'h *n 'lpt-Swt* at the time of Amenhotep II is certified by a pink granite stele found by Maurice Pillet in 1924 in front of the 8th Pylon of Karnak offered by

⁶⁵³ Gitton 1974: 69.

⁶⁵⁴ The term "gate" is here expressed by the term *rwty* and not *sb3wy*, which suggests a monumental access to the 'h. *Ibid.*: 70.

⁶⁵⁵ The expression *Nn w3i.i r.f* is determined by the god image.

⁶⁵⁶ For the interpretation of the function of the *wsht* in ancient Egyptian temple architecture see Spencer 1987: 77-8.

⁶⁵⁷ We cannot rebuild if the access to the palace was in the northern or the southern side of the dromos, but the first possibility is the most probable, in Gitton 1976: 71.

⁶⁵⁸ Gitton 1974: 72.

⁶⁵⁹ See below the chapter dedicated to the archaeological recognition of the 'h-palace.

Amenhotep II to Amun and restored by Sety I (B.I.14).⁶⁶⁰ The inscription of the lower register refers to Amun as *ntr nfr R' mīty tīt dsr nb ntrw nsyt R' m 'h 'lpt-Swt*: “good god like Ra, holy image of all the gods..the kingship of Ra in the ‘h of Karnak”⁶⁶¹.

A passage of the Knossos stele reporting Thutmose IV’s Nubian campaign tells about the staying of the king “in the City of the South (Thebes) at the town of Karnak”: *īst ḥm.f m nīwt rst r dmi n 'lpt-Swt*.⁶⁶²

The palace of Amenhotep III in southwestern Thebes was called *Pr-Nb-m3't-R'-Tḥn(w)-'ltn*, “House of *Nb-m3't-R'-(is)-the-Splendor-of-Aten*”,⁶⁶³ generally shortened to *Pr-Tḥn(w)-'ltn*, “House of Splendor of Aten”⁶⁶⁴ or simply to *Tḥn(w)-'ltn*, “Splendor of Aten”.⁶⁶⁵ It is usually suggested that this palace was the one found at Malkata, on the west bank of the Nile.⁶⁶⁶ However, a new name for the Theban palace, *Pr-ḥ'y*, “The House of Rejoicing”, appears since the regnal year 30 of the king.⁶⁶⁷ This is the title given to the Malkata palace as shown by numerous stamped bricks discovered in the palace area. Since no such bricks occurred *in situ* bringing the name *Pr-Nb-m3't-R'-Tḥn(w)-'ltn* it is likely that the latter palace was another royal building located just north-west of Karnak.⁶⁶⁸ Immediately following Amenhotep III’s death, the name of his Karnak-palace seems to have been changed by his son to *P3-Bḥn-Ḥ'y-m-3ḥt*, “(Akhenaten) rejoices in the Horizon of the Sun-disk”.⁶⁶⁹ The palace near Karnak continued to be used by Akhenaten in his first year of reign;⁶⁷⁰ according to Hayes, the king was residing here when he received the first of a series of

⁶⁶⁰ Pillet 1924: 78-79.

⁶⁶¹ Lefebvre 1924: 143, line 2.

⁶⁶² URK IV: 1545, 7.

⁶⁶³ Hayes 1951: 178. See the title of *Nfr-shrw: īmy-r m Pr-Nb-m3't-R'-Tḥn(w)-'ltn*, in Wolf 1924: 110-11. Gauthier: 1925-31; 92. A variant of the name is contained in a jar label from the palace itself giving the name *Pr-Imn-ḥtp-Tḥn(w)-'ltn*, in Hayes 1951: fig. 6, type 45.

⁶⁶⁴ Hayes 1951: 178. Wolf 1924: 110-11. Gauthier 1925-31, II: 61. Legrain 1903a: 145, nos. 9, 11; inscription of jar sealing from Tell el-Amarna, in Petrie 1894: Pl. 21, 24.

⁶⁶⁵ Hayes 1951: 178. Legrain 1903a: 145, nos. 12, 14; inscription on a jar topping and an ostrakon from Tell el-Amarna in Peet – Wolley 1923-1951, II: Pl. 57 F, 58 15; inscriptions on jar labels from the palace area in Hayes 1951, fig. 5, type 21, fig. 9, type 108 and jar-sealing in Hayes 1951: fig. 27, type HH. In one instance the element *pr*, “house”, is replaced by *nīwt*, “town (of)”, in Legrain 1903a: 145, no. 10.

⁶⁶⁶ Redford 1973: 87-88. Hayes 1951: 178-79.

⁶⁶⁷ It is not possible to state whether *Tḥn(w)-'ltn* was abandoned in favor of the new *Pr-ḥ'y* or whether the two names existed together, Hayes 1951: 179.

⁶⁶⁸ The identification of the *Pr-Nb-m3't-R'-Tḥn(w)-'ltn* with a Theban palace other than the Malkata complex and its location at the north-western side of Karnak temple has been suggested by O'Connor (O'Connor 1980: 1175. O'Connor 1991. O'Connor 1995: 276).

⁶⁶⁹ Sethe 1921: 109; Gunn 1923: 174, 176. Redford 1973: 87-90.

⁶⁷⁰ According to O'Connor, Amenhotep IV would have continued to use his father's palace near Karnak and not the one at Malkata. See O'Connor 1995: 277.

letters written to him by the King Tushratta of Mitanni.⁶⁷¹ Like Hatshepsut's palace, the royal complex of Amenhotep III at Karnak would have been used by the king and his son as the primary focus for royal ceremonies somehow related to the Karnak temple. The other royal building at Malkata would have had a clearly residential function for long-term staying of the king at Thebes, but it also included large-scale ceremonial areas. It was certainly the setting for some aspect of the *Sed*-festival ceremony that Amenhotep III celebrated three times during his last years of rule.⁶⁷² According to this interpretation, Amenhotep III may have had a palace at Karnak and another at Malkata and it is possible that more palaces other than the main one located near Karnak were in use at Thebes before and after his reign.⁶⁷³

A Theban palace⁶⁷⁴ should have been the set of Horemheb's coronation described in the inscription at the back of the king's statue in the Turin Museum (B.I.26). This text describes the proceeding of Amun and Horemheb to the *pr-nswt* (ll. 15-17), until they came to the *pr-wr* of Amun's daughter, the Great of Magic who, having greeted the king, established herself on his forehead. After this passage Amun is mentioned while placing the crown on Horemheb's head in the '*h*' (l. 17). Again it is from the *pr-nswt* that Amun issued forth (ll. 19-20) when religious ceremonies were at an end probably to reenter into the temple of Luxor (the event is not explicitly described, it can be supposed by the Opet festival setting). A royal building called repeatedly *pr-nswt* and once '*h*' (B.I.25, l. 17), was the place of the actual coronation and was located in Thebes; whether it was physically connected to the temple of Karnak or to the temple of Luxor is uncertain but it was surely used at the annual '*lpt* festival'⁶⁷⁵ which consisted of the procession of Amun-Ra and the king, respectively from the temple and the palace of Karnak, to Luxor.⁶⁷⁶ Horemheb's decree (B.I.26), another

⁶⁷¹ Hayes 1951: 180. The first letter, EA 23, was sent by Tushratta to Amenhotep III and was received at Malkata; the hieratic text refers to a *p3 bhn rsī Pr-h'i*, "residence of the South, House of rejoicing", designating the southern palace of the king at Thebes. Bezold – Budge 1892: Pl. 42. Redford 1967: 145, 155; Moran 1987: 138, no. 6. The second letter, EA 27, was addressed in his 12th regnal year to Amenhotep IV staying again in the *p3 bhn rsī p3 bhn h'i-m-3ht*, litt. "the residence of the South, the residence of rejoicing of the Horizon". Gabolde 1998: 82. Winkler 1899: 63. Knudtzon 1915, I: 229-41, no. 27. Schroeder 1914-15: 17-21. Inscription on a jar from Amarna mentions again a wine destined to the *p3 bhn h'i-m-3ht*, "domain of Ra rejoicing in the Horizon": Petrie 1894: pl. 24, no. 13.

⁶⁷² Martin 1984. Kemp 1989: 213-317. O'Connor 1991.

⁶⁷³ O'Connor 1995: 279.

⁶⁷⁴ The city is cited in relation to the festival of Southern Opet: Gardiner 1953: pl. 2, l. 13-14, 22.

⁶⁷⁵ Wolf 1931: 72-75. Dumas 1965: 368-370.

⁶⁷⁶ According to Gardiner the probabilities point to the temple of Luxor. As the purpose of the Opet Festival was to conduct Amun-Ra to his Southern Harim, that of Luxor could be part of the palace, the *pr-nswt* or the '*h*', cited in the text, in Gardiner 1953: 25. However, in the palace mentioned in his Coronation text, Horemheb undergoes essentially the same ceremonies as those performed by Hatshepsut in her Karnak palace. Basing on such considerations, O'Connor assumes that the palace

official document of the king, makes reference to a similar ceremonial occasion: the 5th paragraph of the text, dedicated to the abolition of the contribution to the supply of royal docks introduced by Thutmose III on the occasion of the *Sed*-festival, informs us about royal visits of the kings to Thebes for ceremonial purposes.⁶⁷⁷

Visits of the kings to Thebes for religious reasons are known since the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. The fragmentary text on a stele erected by Pharaoh Ahmose in the temple of Karnak records a trip of the king to Thebes and perhaps more specifically to the Temple of Karnak in his 1st regnal year, shortly after his coronation.⁶⁷⁸ Detailing the king's activities in Thebes, the stele (B.I.2) mentions an offering-ceremony and the reentry of the processional image of Amun into the temple,⁶⁷⁹ suggesting that the occasion of the king's visit was a procession of the divine image and perhaps also other simulacra of other Theban gods. The content of the final section is uncertain, but it probably involved mention of the Pharaoh's return from Thebes to his residence.⁶⁸⁰ The second section is dedicated to the description of a rainstorm that hit the country, after which the king returned to Thebes to order restoration of all the monuments fallen into ruin at the presence of Amun.⁶⁸¹ The final passage of the text begins with the king's return to the *hnw pr-3* (B.I.2).

of Horemheb would have been the palace at Karnak, to where Amun-Ra and the king re-enter leaving the palace at the end of the festival, in O'Connor 1995: 278.

⁶⁷⁷ Kruchten 1981: 109-114.

⁶⁷⁸ ll. 1-3) *hsbt 1 (..) nswt-bity Nb-ph̄ty-R' b3 R' 'h-Ms 'Nh dt st r.f iwt hm.f r [dh]nn sw r' r nswt ds.f ist grt hms.n hm.f m dmi n sdf(3)-t3wy [..] nt rsw int ist r.f.[l'mn-r' nb nswt t3wy] m inw sm'*, "Regnal year 1 (..) King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nb-ph̄ty-R', son of Ra Ahmose, alive forever, at the coming of his incarnation, the sun himself having designed him king. For though his incarnation had settled in the harbor town of "Provisioner of the Two Lands" of the South, [Amun-Ra, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands] was in Thebes". Wiener – Allen 1998: 17.

⁶⁷⁹ ll. 3-5) *[wn.in hm.f hnt r r[dit n.f ..] w'b hr m ht t3 '3[bt..s]n hr di.tw hr m[.] pn ist grt ssm [..] h'w.f hnm m r-pr pn* "His Incarnation sailed upstream [to give him] a pure offering. After this offer[ing-ceremony ..th]em, and they were put on the [..] this [nome], while the processional image [..], his body united with his temple, his limbs in joy". These clauses evidently refer to the procession of the "processional image" (*ssm*) of Amun. The clause *h'w.f hnm m r-pr pn*, "his body united with his temple" probably describes the god's entry into Karnak, in Wiener – Allen 1998: 8.

⁶⁸⁰ The expression (l. 5) *'wt.f hr rsw[t wn.in hm.f h r hnw pr-3 'nh (w)d3 s(nb)*, "[Then his incarnation sailed downstream to the *hnw pr-3*, l. p. h.]" is a restoration suggested by Wiener – Allen 1998: 8-9. The first section of the text (ll. 1-3) with the mention of the king's designation in 1.2 suggests that Ahmose had been crowned outside, "south of Dendera" (*rsw int*), perhaps in one of the palaces at Ballas, in Vandersleyen 1967: 151-153.

⁶⁸¹ ll. 10-14) *h3t pw ir.n hm.f r imw.f qnbt.f m ht.f mš'.[f] hr i3btt hr imntt hr h3pw nn hbsw hr.s m ht hpr b3w ntr spr pw ir.n hm.f r hn n w3st*, "What His Incarnation did was to go down to his launch, with his council behind him and [his] army on the east and on the west (banks) providing cover, there being no covering on them after the occurrence of the god's impressive manifestation. What His Incarnation did was to arrive at the interior of Thebes", in Wiener – Allen 1998: 13-14.

Several evidences attest the royal trip to the residence of Thebes for this festival occasion. The papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris no. 206⁶⁸² registers the travelling of Sety I to Thebes in his 2nd regnal year and the great dedicatory inscription of Abydos refers to the presence of Rameses II at Karnak at the end of the 'lpt Feast.⁶⁸³ It is likely that one of the palaces of Thebes used during the 18th Dynasty, most probably one of the Malkata palace of Amenhotep III, could still have been used by Sety I and his successors up to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Dynasty.⁶⁸⁴ As suggested by Stadelamm in his study on the 19th Dynasty Mortuary Temples, during the reign of Rameses III the old palaces were too tumbled down to be used by the king and this would have been the reason why Rameses III decided to build a new residential quarter around his own.⁶⁸⁵ This area has been identified in the architectural section of the High Gate⁶⁸⁶ of the temple at Medinet Habu and not in the temple-palace itself that could never have served as a residential palace.⁶⁸⁷

At the same time, also the northern Memphis was place of residence for the kings of the 18th Dynasty.⁶⁸⁸ Tutankhamun's Restoration Decree (B.I.23), inscribed on a stele erected against the pylon face of the Karnak Temple,⁶⁸⁹ records the stay of the king in a *pr-3*-building previously belonging to Thutmose I:⁶⁹⁰

hm.f m pr-3.f imy(t) pr-3-ḥpr-k3-R'mi R' m hnw His Majesty is in his *pr-3*, estate of '*3-ḥpr-k3-R*'
pt (Thutmose I) like Ra in the *hnw* of the sky

hrw pn iw.tw m 'h nfr imyt-pr ḥpr-k3-R' hrw on this day I was in the goodly '*h*', which is the
estate of '*3-ḥpr-k3-R*' justified

⁶⁸² Pap. Bibl. Nat. 206, col. II, 2, 12. Spiegelberg 1986: pl. 6-6A.

⁶⁸³ The great dedicatory inscription of Rameses II carved on the walls of his father's temple at Abydos relates how Rameses, after tarrying in Thebes in order to restore the monuments of his father Sety I, left the Southern City, in Gauthier 1911: 55. Another source which describes the trip of the king to the Southern City (*nīwt-rsyt*) on the occasion of the 'lpt Feast is the inscription in the tomb of the priest of Amun *Nb-wnn-f*, in Sethe 1907-08: 30 ff.

⁶⁸⁴ According to Stadelmann, these old Theban palaces started to be too tumbledown to be used by kings from the reign of Rameses III onwards. "This may has been the reason why Rameses III made up his mind to construct a new residential quarter around his mortuary temple. For the royal palace he chose the architectural form of the high gate obviously common in the delta residence Piramesse", in Stadelmann 1994: 314.

⁶⁸⁵ Stadelmann 1996: 229.

⁶⁸⁶ Hölscher 1951: pls. 15-20. For a discussion of the possible function of the High Gate at Medinet Habu see: Haeny 1967: 71 ff. Cavillier 2008. O'Connor 2005: 439 ff.

⁶⁸⁷ Stadelmann 1996: 228.

⁶⁸⁸ Helck 1958: 5.

⁶⁸⁹ The third pylon built by Amenhotep III, against which the stele has been found, formed the front of the Great Temple in the reign of Tutankhamun. Bennett 1939: 8, note 2.

⁶⁹⁰ URK IV: 2028, 7;

Whether the text would relate to a palace located in Thebes⁶⁹¹ or Memphis⁶⁹² is not clear. The same estate of '3-*ḥpr-k3-R'* is mentioned even in the stele of the 3th regnal year of Ay,⁶⁹³ where it is located at Memphis⁶⁹⁴ together with the estate of *Mn-ḥprw-R'* (Thutmose IV).⁶⁹⁵ The royal account book of the Rollin papyri suggests that in the 2nd and 3rd year of Sety I's reign the court dwelled primarily in Memphis in the *pr*-*'3-ḥpr-k3-R'*, while paying occasional visits to Heliopolis.⁶⁹⁶

The available sources do not allow to state if there was only one royal building re-used from time to time by the kings of the 18th and 19th Dynasty, or if the palace was built *ex-novo* by each of them. Nor it is possible to state with certainty the real function of this building, although Hatshepsut's Coronation Text suggests a ceremonial function of the 'ḥ as support for the king to practice the worship of Amun.

We can assume the contemporary existence of different places served as royal residences and seats of administration from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom, from and to where the king travelled, together with the bureaucratic hierarchy and the high priests. Each of these buildings may have served for different aims: to allow the king showing himself to all people, ideologically strengthening his role all over the country, making inspections in different regions, or officiating in various cultic acts near the major temples and shrines. These customs may have generated the need of duplicates royal buildings in many Egyptian settlements. From time to time one of these places could have taken the role of main Residence city, being the place where the king and his courtiers made their more-or-less permanent headquarters, necessitating an extensive complexes of palaces, administrative buildings and storehouses. It is likely that, as the administrative structure became more complex throughout the New Kingdom, those complexes which were previously duplicated in many Egyptian cities came to be concentrated in one site so as to

⁶⁹¹ Maspero states that the stele was composed at Thebes. Davies – Maspero 1912: 116.

⁶⁹² Considering the importance given to Ptah and the mention of Ankhtawe on the stele, Bennet sustains the hypothesis that the inscription originated in Memphis. Bennet 1939: 12, note 25.

⁶⁹³ Stele JE 28019 in the Cairo Museum. Daressy 1894: 123, CVIII. Zivie-Coche 1976: 177-182 (NE47), pl. 13; URK IV: 2109.

⁶⁹⁴ The juridical operation described in the stele consisting in the transfer of lands of the royal domain in favor of a functionary of Memphis was made by the king when he was in Memphis (*ḥw.tw n Mn-nfr*). See Zivie-Coche 1976: 273-74.

⁶⁹⁵ Ay's stele refers the foundation of a dominion called "Hills of Hittites" at Memphis: the topographical indications of this stele allows to reconstruct the position of the *Pr*-*'3-ḥpr-k3-R'* *ḥn' Pr Mn-ḥprw-R'*, "the residence of Thutmose IV and the residence of Thutmose I": Daressy 1894: 123, CVIII, l. 5-6.

⁶⁹⁶ Spiegelberg 1869: 4 f. They consist of documents from the administration of the Memphite palace bread supply, in Kemp 1991: 289.

increase the architectural complexity of the main residence city. Amarna and Malkata are the most significant examples of this architectural change.

In the attempt to define a “main Residence city” in the New Kingdom most historians who have written on the history of Egypt have assumed that Thebes was the administrative centre for much of the 18th Dynasty. Prosopographical evidence covering the earliest part of the 18th Dynasty have shown that most of the officials who had tombs in Thebes held titles suggesting that their administrative responsibilities were concerned in the Theban area.⁶⁹⁷ In the meanwhile, Memphis had a prominent role⁶⁹⁸ as seat of the high priesthood of Ptah and - from the reign of Thutmose III, when a dual vizierate was introduced⁶⁹⁹ - as headquarter of the vizier of Lower Egypt. Recent studies have demonstrated the administrative role of Memphis from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty to the Amarna Period. Thanks to these researches on the administrative titles in the private inscriptions of the Memphite area⁷⁰⁰ it is possible to state that major administrators were functioning from Memphis, at least from the reign of Thutmose III until the Amarna age.⁷⁰¹ Memphis may have worked as administrative capital during the 18th Dynasty, Thebes and Amarna functioning as major sacerdotal centre as the seat of the royal cemeteries and the temples of the major deities of the country. Titles of office-holders from Amarna⁷⁰² hint the predominantly religious role supposed for Akhetaten.⁷⁰³

Texts of the 19th and the 20th Dynasty often refer to a town named *Pr-R'mssw- mri'-Imn*, “House of Rameses beloved of Amun” which has to be recognized as the royal Residence in the Delta throughout that period.⁷⁰⁴ The cartouche name of the city appears in several different forms but the permanent nucleus of the name contains the characteristic epithet, *mri'-Imn*, “beloved of Amun”. The cartouche is usually followed by the honorific abbreviation *'nh wd3 snb*, “living, prospering, in health”, and preceded by the prefixed word *pr-* or its equivalent.⁷⁰⁵ The original name of the city in its complete form was *Pr-R'mssw-mri'-Imn-'3-nḥtw*, “House of Rameses beloved of Amun Great of Victories where

⁶⁹⁷ Martin 1979: 457 ff. Martin 2000: pl. 1.

⁶⁹⁸ Badawy 1948.

⁶⁹⁹ Helck 1958: 14-15; 26-27. Meyer 1982.

⁷⁰⁰ Malek 1989: 4-7. Dijk 1989: 8-12. Chevereau 1994.

⁷⁰¹ Martin has recently considered the presence of a Northern Vizirate at Thebes during the reign of Akhenaten as proof that Memphis continued to exercise a very significant role until in the Amarna period, in Martin 2000: 115-20. See also Zivie 1990.

⁷⁰² Hari 1976a.

⁷⁰³ Martin 2000: 120.

⁷⁰⁴ See the Papyrus Anastasi III (B.I.67), Papyrus Anastasi V, 23, 7-25, 2 (B.I.70), Papyrus Anastasi VI (B.I.71) the Decree of Blessing Ptah (B.I.54), and other examples in Gardiner 1918: 132-134.

⁷⁰⁵ Gardiner 1918: 136-7.

the epithet “Great of Victories” was a regular component of the Horus of Gold name of Rameses II.⁷⁰⁶ Sometimes the name *Pr-R’^hmssw-mrī-’l^hmn ‘n^h wd3 snb* can be followed by the word *hnw* (see the example of Louvre C 96, pAnastasi IV, pBologna 1094, pSallier I). The use of word *hnw* as apposition of the name of the new capital city suggests its interpretation as “residence-city”. The 19th and 20th Dynasty would show a return to a fixed single place, reproducing an experience of centralization similar to that at Amarna, but with the emphasis on Lower Egypt: the residence of Rameses II at Piramesse at Qantir and the palace of Rameses III at Tell el-Yahudiya in the orbit of Heliopolis/Iunu.

2.13 The case of Amarna

The main source for the study of the royal buildings of Akhetaten and the identification of their names with the structures that have been properly excavated are the lists of Akhenaten’s buildings contained in the Boundary Stele K and X,⁷⁰⁷ the inscriptions from the tombs at Amarna, the hieroglyphic and hieratic jar-inscriptions from the excavations.

Even if proper nouns of many buildings of official nature which are clearly associated with members of the royal family are known, it is impossible to assign an exact position to most of them; it is also likely that they simply were alternative names of parts of the same palace.⁷⁰⁸ These names are generally composed by the expression *pr-*, “house” or the rarest *hwt*, “estate”, followed by names or epithets of the king⁷⁰⁹ and members of the royal family.⁷¹⁰ The major difficulty is to identify the buildings which are archaeologically known with the occurrences of such names as *pr-nswt*, *pr-’3* or *’h* in the tombs of officials at Thebes or Amarna.

A particular building recurring in Amarna sources is the *pryt*⁷¹¹ *pr-’3*, “the houses of the Pharaoh”, which is mentioned in stele K and X (B.I.19) and in a letter from the Steward of Memphis Apy to Amenhotep IV found at Gurob (B.II.89). The *pryt pr-’3* has been

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*: 136.

⁷⁰⁷ The starting point for the knowledge of the royal buildings in the Central City at Amarna is given by the Boundary Stelae. The complete list of the royal buildings is contained in lines 14-17 of stele K and 17-19 of stele X. For the complete text of stele K see Davies 1903-5, 5: pls. 29-30, 37, 38; for the complete text of X see Davies 1903-5, 5: pls. 31-2.

⁷⁰⁸ Fairman 1951: 198.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*: 198.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*: 199.

⁷¹¹ GEG: 565. Wb I: 518.

interpreted as the name given to the private portion of one of the buildings discovered in the site of Amarna and specifically the North Riverside Palace at the northern end of the site.⁷¹² Whatever this expression would refer to, it must be considered together with compounds such as *pr pr-ʿ3/pr n pr-ʿ3* used in late New Kingdom titles referring to an “estate of the Pharaoh”.⁷¹³ In these expressions the word definitely comes to mean “the Pharaoh” as the owner of the building or part of a wider structure referred to as *pryt* or *pr*.

Among the archeologically known palaces at Amarna, the Great Palace⁷¹⁴ should be identified with *Pr-h’y*, “House of Rejoicing”, known from written sources. The name of the building, in its fullest version being *Pr-h’y n p3 ’ltn m pr ’ltn m 3h-’ltn*, “House of Rejoicing in the House of the Aten in Akhetaten” occurs on hieroglyphic inscriptions⁷¹⁵ and jar sealings⁷¹⁶ from the site and stone blocks from the Great Palace.⁷¹⁷ The problem in the attempt to identify this structure is that the Boundary Stelae list two foundations with the same name *Pr-h’y*, both located in what was called “the island of Aten distinguished in jubilees”, *iw ’ltn tni hb-Sd*,⁷¹⁸ one to be probably identified with the columned courtyard in the first section of the Great Temple of Aten and the other corresponding to the entire Great Palace.⁷¹⁹ A number of inscribed blocks from the Great Palace often record certain subdivisions of the building itself, such as the *Wbn-’ltn*, “the Aten shrines”⁷²⁰ and the *Wsht-’ltn*, “the Broad Hall of the Aten”⁷²¹ which are said to be in the *Pr-h’y*.⁷²² Of the fifteen instances recording the name *Wbn-’ltn n 3hn-’ltn*, fourteen blocks came from the building to the north-west of the Northern Harim and one from the harim area, so that the *Wbn-’ltn* has been identified with the huge structure at the north-west corner of the Great Palace⁷²³ which was part of the palace itself. The central part of this palace has been identified as the

⁷¹² Fairman 1951: 198. Murnane 1995: 105, note no. 7. Other possible candidates are the King’s House or the Harim within the Great Palace, see Gohary 1992: 172-4.

⁷¹³ See above § 2.3.

⁷¹⁴ Pendlebury 1936: 194-8. Pendlebury 1951: 33-85.

⁷¹⁵ Pendlebury 1951: 1, 4, 6, 8, 18, pl. 101.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 34-6, pl. 81.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*: pl. 41, 2-3; pl. 68, 4; pl. 69, 4-5.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*: fig. 26, ll. 15-16.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 30, 45, 47, 195.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*: pls. 101, 2-3, 7, 15-16; 102, 21, 27-28, 33-34.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*: pls. 101, 9, 11; 102, 31-2; 103, 41.

⁷²² From the Pillared Hall at the south end of the palace came a number of scattered bricks bearing the name [*pr?*] *’nh-ḥpr-R’* [...] *’ltn Pr-h’y*, “[the House of] *’nh-ḥpr-R’* (=Smenkhkare), the House of Rejoicing of the Aten”. The archaeological evidence shows that this was the last part of the palace to be built (Pendlebury 1951: 60, 150). The fragment of the base of an Amarna statue in the British Museum (BM 1000) mentions another building called “the sunshade of the Princess Meritaten” which is said to be “in the House of Rejoicing of the Aten in Akhetaten”, in Sandman 1938: 159 and HTBM 8: 27-8, pl. 24.

⁷²³ Pendlebury 1951: 50-51.

king's harim and divided into a "Northern Harim" and a "Southern Harim". The recognition of the harim-functions has been based on a stone fragment giving only a part of the whole expression, which has been integrated in favor of its interpretation as "Harim".⁷²⁴



[..] *hmt nswt wrt* [..] 'l[tn] m *pr-'ltn* [m..] [..] of the great royal wife [..] of the A[ten]
in the House of Aten in [..]⁷²⁵

The *pryt hmt nswt*, "the houses of the royal wife" cited in the Boundary Stelae (B.I.19)⁷²⁶ are generally ascribed to the *pr-3*, and can be improbably identified with one of the palaces *in situ* or with one their inner sections, candidates being in the King's House, the harim-component in the Great Palace or the North Great Riverside Palace in the norther sector of the site.⁷²⁷ As I have discussed above, one the Houses of Rejoicing mentioned in the foundation stelae could then be identified with the Great Palace, equating the *Pr-h'y*-palace of Akhenaten's father, the palace of Amenothep III at Malkata.⁷²⁸ I refer to a dedicated chapter for the interpretation of the *Pr-h'y* at Amarna and the possible identification of the so-called Northern Harim of the Great Palace with a '*h*'-palace within the *Pr-h'y* used on specific ceremonial occasions, such as the celebration of the *Hb-Sd*.⁷²⁹ The interpretation of the Northern Harim as "ceremonial"-palace used during specific ceremonial occasions does not preclude the possibility of women's presence in such palace. In his analisys of the King's House at Malkata and the purpose of the royal harim, O'Connor ha recently stressed the ritual functions of the harim "which provided the king with recreation and support during royal ceremonies".⁷³⁰ Some of the expressions from Amarna inscriptions establish a connection between the term '*h*' and the figure of the royal wife (*hmt nswt*):

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*: 193-4 (d), pl. 83.

⁷²⁵ "It is a sore temptation to equate the "apartments of the queen (*pryt hmt-nswt*) of the Boundary Stele with the harim, but it must be done with the greatest caution, for this equation depends on the translation of *pryt* as "apartments" and at the present is only a guess", in Fairman 1951: 194.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*: 190, fig. 26, l. 17.

⁷²⁷ Gohary 1992: 172-4.

⁷²⁸ Hayes 1951: 177-81.

⁷²⁹ See chapter 4 below.

⁷³⁰ In his essay O'Connor supports the earlier interpretation of the suites of the royal harim in the King's House of Amenhotep III at Malkata as intended for the use of members of the royal harim after Dorothea Arnold's new theory about the use of palatial complex at Malkata for the celebration

- The inscription on the statuette of Nefertiti (B.I.20):

*dī 'nh dt nhh [nswt hmt] wrt nbt 'h '3t mrt m pr-
'ltn nbt t3wy Nfr-nfrw-'ltn nfr-tyty ['nh dt nhh]* Long live the father, *Hr-h-ītn*; given life forever continually, and the (King's) Chief Wife, the lady of the 'h, great of love in the House of Aten, the Lady of the Two Lands, *Nfr-nfrw-'ltn-Nfr-tyty*, (may she live forever continually).

- The inscription on the votive shabti of Nefertiti (B.I.21):

*īry-p't '3t m 'h hsynt n nswt-bīty Nfr-hpr-R' W'-n-
R' s3 R' 3ht-'ltn '3 m 'h'w Nfr-nfrw-'ltn-Nfr-tyty
'nh dt nhh* Hereditary princess, great one in the 'h, favored of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Nfr-hpr-R' W'-n-R'* son of Ra *3ht-'ltn*, long in his lifetime: the king's chief wife *Nfr-nfrw-'ltn-Nfr-tyty*, may she live forever [continually] (..)

- The relief with Titles of Queen Nefertiti from the Temple of Sesebi in Nubia (B.I.22):

*l. 1-2) īry-p't wrt hswt [...ndm] mrwt hnwt Šm'w
T3-mḥw [...m] 'h km3 mtr 3ht [...] nswt hmt wrt
mrwt.f [Nfr-nfrw-'ltn-nfr-tyty] 'nh dt [nhh]* Hereditary princess, greatly favored, sweet of love, lady of Upper and Lower Egypt (...in the) 'h, who bears witness to the horizon and ascends (?) to [...], the great King's Chief wife, his beloved, [*Nfr-nfrw-'ltn-nfr-tyty*, may she live [continually].

- The inscription from the tomb of M'y at el-Amarna (B.II.97):

īry-p't '3 m 'h nfrt hr nfr m šwt The hereditary princess, she who is great in the 'h, pale of face and beautiful in the Two Plumes

- The inscription from the tomb of Queen Tyy (B.II.92):

*l. 3-6) īry-p't wr(t) hsw(t) nbt mrwt mh 'h m nfrw
hmt Šm'w T3-mḥw nswt hmt wrt mrwt.f nbt
t3wy Tyy* The hereditary princess, great of favor, lady of charm, sweet of love, who fills the 'h with her beauty, mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, the king's chief wife, his beloved, lady of the Two Lands Tyy

of the *Hb-sd*. See O'Connor 2010: 58 ff. For studies on the functions of the royal harim see Robins 1993. Redford 2002. Troy 1986. See above note no. 212.

2.14 Conclusions

The use of the **term 'h** seems to have remained fairly constant from the Middle Kingdom throughout the early and late New Kingdom, so that is possible to speak of a continuity rather than a development of the terminology of the 'h. It is broadly used and mentioned in several kinds of texts: biographical narrative inscriptions, titles, captions in royal reliefs and narrative religious material.

The term 'h occurs in several narrative passages in prepositional phrases – in expressions such as *r 'h*, “to the 'h” or *m 'h*, “in the 'h” – in contexts describing journeys or the permanence of the king within the building. The phrase *r 'h* is often compound with motion verbs like *spr*, “to arrive” or *k*, “to enter” and arises in passages describing ceremonial occasions connected for example with the enthonement of the king or the horacular procession of Amun in the temple of Karnak (as in the Coronation Text carved on the Blocks of the Red Chapel at Karnak - B.I.10) or the presentation of enemies in front of the Pharaoh (Bet Shean stele of Rameses II - B.I.39). In private inscriptions instead, the purpose of the entering in the 'h is rarely stated. Ritual activities performed by private people *m 'h* are those suggested by compounds like *dī 3wt*, “to give offerings” and *īr ḥswt*, “to make praises”. Among the ceremonies taking place within the 'h, texts refer to the delivery of gifts or tributes, registered under the term *īnw*, to the king himself (see for example the North Stele C 12 from the Great Temple of Abu Simbel - B.I.42 and the Ramessid tomb of P3-sr - B.II.128). Such *īnw* would have been delivered during specific ceremonies such as royal audiences of foreign princes and high officials. The prepositional compound *m 'h*, “in the 'h” occurs in sentences mentioning the king staying within this structure. The relationship between the king and the 'h is not clear, but this latter does not seem to be primarily the king's residence.

When the monarch and the 'h are most closely connected it is not to describe a specific king in his daily life, but it is only to mention his permanence within the 'h. Sometimes the occasion of this stay is that of festivals and religious rituals, such as the celebration of the *Sed*-festival at the time of Amenhotep III, described on the walls of the Temple of Soleb in Nubia (B.I.17). The 'h functioned as the *Sed*-Festival palace from and to which the king had to process in specific moments of the feast. The word 'h can be often found in verbal compounds using verb *ḥi*, literally “to appear in glory”, in narrative passages describing

the coronation or the enthronement of the king⁷³¹ as well as any state appearance of the monarch. Texts from Horemheb's reign contain an explicit reference to the establishing of

⁷³¹ As already highlighted by Gardiner, the major difficulty in the knowledge of the coronation rite arises from the fact that the verb *ḥꜥ*, literally meaning "to arise" or "to appear in glory" can be also used in reference to any public and state appearance of the king (Gardiner 1953: 23). The coronation ceremony seems to have been a proper daily feast, likewise celebrated annually (Kemp 1991: 206), during which the king went in procession to be crowned and enthroned. The most detailed accounts of an Egyptian coronation occurs in the Coronation Inscriptions of Horemheb and Hatshepsut, which illustrate a process that involved both the temple, where the king is elected by divine decree, and the palace (Kemp 1991: 206-8. O'Connor 1995: 277-8). The earlier text of Hatshepsut (Kemp 1991: 206-8. O'Connor 1995: 277-8) describes several moments of the royal investiture as follows: the divine image of Amun-Ra, carried out from the Karnak temple, summons the Queen from her palace, located near Karnak, and takes her into the temple, where the god assigns the kingship to her. After this declaration of intent, a procession follows, and Amun-Ra and Hatshepsut enter in the palace. It is in the *ḥ*-palace that the god formally enthrones her. The god and the Queen then leave the palace and re-enter Karnak temple (Gitton 1974: 65, fig. 1). The difficulties of such interpretation of the text, which provides a series of useless and meaningless acts that force the god and the Queen to repeat the same path, have been discussed by O'Connor 1995: 277-8). According to the interpretation of the Horemheb's Coronation Text, the inscription describes Horemheb being escorted to the Karnak temple at the time of the Opet Festival (during the Opet Festival both the king and the god (Amun-Ra) respectively issued forth from Karnak temple and palace, joined in procession to Luxor and returned again to Karnak. Murnane 1982: 574-579). Of particular interest is the fact that Horus is described as embracing Horemheb in order to induct him into the presence Amun for coronation (Gardiner 1953: 15). Amun-Ra receives him in the temple and takes him to Luxor temple (the event is not specifically described, but it is implied by the Opet Festival setting): it is here that the god identifies Horemheb as new pharaoh. Then they go together to a *pr-nswt*, which probably refers to a palace at Karnak, for in it Horemheb undergoes the same ceremonies as those hold by Hatshepsut in her *ḥ*-palace at Karnak. The god and the king return to Karnak after the coronation rites (Gardiner 1953: 21-28). Then the god and presumably also the king, as just as Hatshepsut, leave the palace and re-enter in the temple (Lacau – Chevrier 1977: 144-133). In both the texts, the setting for the coronation ceremony was the Opet Festival, one of whose purpose was to renew the king's royal *ka* and reconfirm his right rule (Bell 1985: 251 ff.). On such occasion specific rituals took place at Luxor, as the temple of the royal *ka*, and enthronement ceremonies occurred in the palace: at his coronation, the king would have received the royal *ka*, the same possessed by all the previous kings of Egypt, that rendered the king divine. Apart from the coronation linked to the Opet Festival, and the renewal of the coronation celebrated during the *Sed*-festival, also normal coronations would have taken place. The description of the coronation ceremony in these texts certainly does not exhaust the range of all the rites that have taken place: some of the opening ceremonies are omitted, since the Hatshepsut's and Horemheb's coronations had to be fitted in the regular programme of the Opet Festival, and are known by some representations (for a detailed description of a normal coronation see Moret 1902: chapter 3). The opening ceremonies would have expected the purificatory aspersion of the king by the gods of the cardinal points, the circumambulation of the walls to symbolize the taking possession of the kingdom and the write of the name on a sacred tree at Heliopolis (Gardiner 1953: 24). The King's induction (*bs-nswt*, in: B.I.25, l. 14) described in Horemheb's Coronation Text was attended by officers, priests and magistrates of the land: a jubilant crowd of both populace and priesthood would have come to witness the appearance of the king and of Amun (*Ibid.*: 24). After that, Amun proceeded to the *pr-nswt*, with Horemheb in front of him, until they came to the *Pr-wr* of Amun's daughter, the Great of Magic, who greeted the new sovereign and "established herself on his forehead" (B.I.25, ll. 15-16). The *Pr-wr* was one of the temple-rooms or sections in the Theban temple used for purification rites and as place where the king received the uraeus (Gardiner 1953: 25). The palace, referred to as *pr-nswt* (B.I.25, l. 17) and once as *ḥ* (B.I.25, l.17), is the actual place where the coronation took place. One of the last moments of the coronation ceremonial was the formulation and conferring of the royal names and titles, which are often recorded in full at the beginning of the royal texts. In the Coronation

the crown (*smn ḥ'w*) at the hand of Amun upon the head of the King within the 'ḥ (Coronation text of Horemheb - B.I.25 - and stele from the Temple of Ptah at Memphis - B.I.27). In the Ramessid Period the "appearance" of the king can be equated to the manifestation of god Ra in the sky, in inscriptions such as those from the palace of Merenptah (B.I.49) and those from the temple-palace of Rameses III at Medinet Habu (B.II.163). The ceremonial nature of the term 'ḥ seems confirmed by the usage of the term with reference to a specific "ritual-palace", the temple-palace attached to the Mortuary Temples of the 19th and 20th Dynasty. On the doorjambs of the two entrances to the palace of Medinet Habu, Rameses II is mentioned while entering and leaving the 'ḥ *ḥwt.f špsī*, "the palace of his noble temple" in order to join Amun during the Feast of Opet and the Feast of the Valley.⁷³² The aforementioned inscriptions from the palace of Merenptah represent an exceptional source when we try to verify a possible correspondence between philological sources and archaeological evidence, since they come from a palatial site of the 19th Dynasty. These texts allow to recognize in the building of Merenptah 'ḥ-palace with ceremonial function. The similarity of its tripartite plan with that of the temple-palace at Medinet Habu can not be accidental and should be probably understood as specific and recurrent feature of the 'ḥ-palace. I refer here to a chapter entirely dedicated to the recognition of the ceremonial palace in archaeological evidence, given the complexity and the breadth of the topic.⁷³³ Among the ceremonies that would have taken place within the 'ḥ, New Kingdom sources mention even the king appointing and promoting high officials as well as the king giving orders (*tp-rd*) and establishing laws (*ḥpw*) to his entourage.

The word occurs in compounds for both "royal palace", 'ḥ *nswt*, and "palace of the god", 'ḥ *ntr*.⁷³⁴ This last form of the 'ḥ must be probably identified with the 'ḥ *ntr* of Predynastic and Old Kingdom texts with the *ntr* hieroglyph written inside the 'ḥ-sign referring to a sort of sanctuary or shrine for divine images. The expression 'ḥ *ntr* must be taken under

Inscription of Horemheb, for example, after having received the crown by Amun in the palace, the king is entitled with the five elements of the king's formal titling: a Horus name, which represents the king as the earthly embodiment of the sky-god Horus; a "Two Ladies" name, the two ladies being Nekhbet and Wadjet, the two protective goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt the goddesses; the Golden Horus name, whose exact significance is still uncertain; the throne name, which was preceded by the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt"; and the birth name compounded with the title "son of Ra" (Gardiner 1953: 15). Other details of the coronation can be inferred from the same text: the *ḥ'w*, "crown", is here described by the *khepresh* or blue wing-like headgear (*Ibid.*: 15) and the Nine Bows, as representation of the king's enemies, are beneath his feet (*Ibid.*: 15). There were a number of other crowns, which could be used, as for the example the *shmty*, "Double Crown", described in the Coronation Text of Hatshepsut (B.I.11, l. 4-6).

⁷³² Stadelmann 1994: 311.

⁷³³ See below, chapter 4.

⁷³⁴ Goelet 1982: 13.

consideration together with epithets referring to gods or goddesses in relation to the *‘h*. Such titles span from the simplest *nb ‘h*, “Lord of the *‘h*”, generally referred to the king in the form of Horus, and *nbt* or *hnwt ‘h*, “lady” or “mistress” of the *‘h* used for female deities such as *Wrt-Hk3w*, Nekhbet, Sekhmet, Mut or Hathor. The *‘h* mentioned in this kind of expressions must be probably intended as a structure other from the royal *‘h*, with a more secular nature, despite its ceremonial functions. Since it would go far beyond the aim of the present study, I refer to an index volume with the epithets and designations of the Egyptian deities edited by C. Lietz during 2002 and 2003 for a complete overview of the divine titles compound with *‘h*. The male gods who are most frequently linked to the *‘h* are Horus, Ra and Amun-Ra, all intended as divine manifestations of the living king. The most common titles of the sovereign are *Hr nb ‘h*, “Horus, Lord of the *‘h*” or *Hr m ‘h.f*, “Horus in his *‘h*”. The seat of the Horus-king is always referred to as a *‘h*-palace. This palace must be intended as holy locality because the king appears within it as the holder of magical powers.⁷³⁵ In this sense the *‘h* parallels other holy localities such as the temples of the gods and the temple-palaces of the deceased king. These classes of ceremonial places are similarly structured on the basis of their analogue function.⁷³⁶ The *‘h*-palace seems to have functioned as “ritual palace” and, more specifically, as “coronation palace”, “temple-palace” (in the case of the 19th and 20th Dynasty Mortuary Temples)⁷³⁷ or “*Sed*-festival palace”. The *‘h*, even when not strictly related to gods, appears to be generally connected with rituals like the practices of *sb3wy*, “oracles”, *3wt*, “prayers”, and *hswt*, “offerings”.

Most of the private titles compound with *‘h* does not provide any additional information to that given by narrative passages. One of the most common epithets occupying a significant spot among titularies of the 18th Dynasty high officials, *hrp-‘h*, was originally closely connected to the celebration of the *Sed*-Festival, according to a number of Old Kingdom evidence.⁷³⁸ In this regard the link between the *‘h* and the celebration of the *Sed*-Festival seems confirmed by the title preserved in the stele Leiden 3.1.1.37 (B.II.120) referring to the owner as *imy-r k3wt m hwt hb-sd m ‘h n pr-nswt*, “overseer of the works in the temple of the *Sed*-Festival in the *‘h* and in the *pr-nswt*”. Other titles simply stress the connection

⁷³⁵ Gundlach 2009: 60.

⁷³⁶ See below, chapter 4.

⁷³⁷ Palaces attached to the Ramessid funerary temples were probably never used for ceremonies, housing rather a statue of the king. Stadelmann 1979: 312, no. 68. They were replicas of the real palaces, meant only for the use of the deceased king, as well as each funerary temple, at least in the Ramessid times, was essentially a replica of the Karnak temple, housing the deceased Amun-Ra. O’Connor 1989: 81.

⁷³⁸ Goelet 1982: 349.

between the title owner and the king, such as those compound with different form of the verb *ḥsỉ*, describing an official as “favored” by the king himself.

The term *pr-ʿ3*, literally translated as “the great house”, only rarely seems to be a word for the king himself before the New Kingdom.⁷³⁹ This use of *pr-ʿ3* with reference to the king begins in the middle of the 18th Dynasty, and is the origin of the word “Pharaoh” that appears in the Hebrew Bible. The term does not undergo any graphical variation and continues to be composed of the noun *-pr* and its ideographic sign, often doubled in the inscriptions. One aspect of the usage of the term is its rarity in narrative passages, unless the word is part of an official title. There are few instances of the term *pr-ʿ3* used as an independent word in narrative inscriptions such as the Horemheb’s Decree (B.I.26) or *The Duties of the Vizier* (B.I.33), so that these texts have an important role in an attempt to understand the meaning of the term and the function of the structure to which is referred. Among the official inscriptions in fact, the text that most explicitly marks the transition from *pr-ʿ3* as royal building to *pr-ʿ3* as “Pharaoh” is the Horemheb’s Decree, where the word becomes the direct object of the verb *šmsỉ*, “to accompany, to serve”, *mk*, “to guard”, and *ḥ3ỉ*, “to arrive”.

The term keeps its original meaning of royal building in those narrative passages where it is used in the prepositional compound *r pr-ʿ3*, “to the *pr-ʿ3*” after motion verbs. In the *Duties of the Vizier* from the tomb of *Rḥ-mỉ-Rʿ*, the sentence *ʿk.f r pr-ʿ3*, “he enters in the *pr-ʿ3*” (B.II.33), is inserted in a context which describes the vizier entering into the *pr-ʿ3* to greet the king. It is obvious here that the term *pr-ʿ3* must denote a physical place where the vizier could pay his respect to the king. Paying particular attention to this text, the *pr-ʿ3* is the building to where the vizier moves for his audience in front of the king from the *pr-nswt*. The direction of the vizier’s movement from the *pr-nswt* to the *pr-ʿ3* lets assume that the *pr-nswt* was an inner section of the *pr-ʿ3* as wider royal institution. At the same time the occasion of the vizier’s audience suggests the association between the *pr-ʿ3* as physical place and the person of the king. The Tempest Stele of Ahmose (B.I.1) explicitly refers to the palace of Thebes defining it as a *pr-ʿ3*-palace. The *pr-ʿ3* is mentioned in the text as physical place to where the king sailed downstream (*ḥdỉ*).

⁷³⁹ Goelet 1982: 539.

The architectural complexity of the *pr-ʿ3* is shown in Horemheb's decree (B.I.26) by the connection of this term with other several architectural sections such as the *ʿt ḥnkt*, "room of the offerings", the *pr-ḥd*, "treasury", or *šnwt*, "granary". According to the same text, another specific palatial area which is linked to the *pr-ʿ3* is the *wʿbt*, a place used for all the physical operations of preparation of foods and other kinds of services.

One aspect that distinguishes *pr-ʿ3* from other terms in this study is the quantity of offices in which the word *pr-ʿ3* is present. Focusing on the "secular" duties implied in several groups of titles modified with the term, they are specific offices, and not merely honorific titles, covering a wide range of occupations.

Occurrences of *pr-ʿ3* in official titles confirm the wide range of activities which were related to that term. Some titles such as *sš n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb*, "scribe of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.", *imy-r pr-ḥd pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb*, "overseer of the treasury of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.", *idnw n3 n imntyw pr-ḥd n pr-ʿ3*, "deputy of the western treasury of the *pr-ʿ3*" or *imy-r šnwt n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb*, "overseer of the granaries of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.", ascribe certain administrative and economic activities to the *pr-ʿ3* itself, performed by the title owner in departments such as the *šnwt n pr-ʿ3*, "the granary of the *pr-ʿ3*" or the *pr-ḥd n pr-ʿ3*, "the treasury of the *pr-ʿ3*".⁷⁴⁰ Other institutions like the *ʿt*, "chamber/department/storeroom" and the *p3-ḥpš*, "the armoury" can be linked to the *pr-ʿ3* in titles compound with *imy-r*, "overseer of".

The use of *pr-ʿ3* in private titles provides support for relating *pr-ʿ3* to the affairs concerning the living king as well as to the activities connected with his funerary estate. After a careful analysis of the usage of the word *pr-ʿ3* in Old Kingdom inscriptions, Goelet concludes stating: "*pr-ʿ3* has a such close link with the living king, that it already shows a tendency towards becoming a word for the ruler himself, the "Pharaoh" of Egyptian texts from the 18th Dynasty onwards".⁷⁴¹ A number of titles simply refers to officials dealing with activities concerning the living king: the "overseer of the herds" (*imy-r iḥw*), "the overseer of the bowmen" (*imy-r pḏtyw*), the "cultivators" (*iḥwtwy*), the "butler" (*wb3*), the "sailor" (*wʿw*), the "door-opener" (*wn-ʿ3*), the "herald" (*wḥmw*), the "stable-master" (*ḥry-iḥw*), the "sealer" (*ḥtm*), the "washerman" (*rḥtyw*), the "butler" (*wḏpw*), the "skipper" (*wḥmw*), the "scribe" (*sš*), the "servant" (*sdm ʿš*) or the fan-bearer (*ḥw*). Whether the *pr-ʿ3* would refer to a physical place or the king's person is uncertain in many cases: word *pr-ʿ3* in a number of the aforementioned titles could mean that the owner worked for the king's service or in a

⁷⁴⁰ Goelet 1982: 613-614.

⁷⁴¹ Goelet 1982: 631.

place called *pr-ʿ3* as well. The general aim of such titles would seem to stress some sort of generic attachment of the title owner to the royal palace and the king's person. The titles examined in the present study are various and they reflect such an extensive organization so as to lead to the conclusion that *pr-ʿ3*, if intended as physical place, would have referred to a large multifunctional institution. The *pr-ʿ3* seems to have been a word used to refer to the royal building in a generic sense, as a place somehow connected to the king since the earliest period of the Egyptian history.

Regarding the usage of term in religious context, *pr-ʿ3* appears in several titles as well as in expressions with ritual nature. The word *pr-ʿ3* is frequently associated with the concept of *ḥwt* in expressions such as *imy-r pr n t3 ḥwt pr-ʿ3*, “overseer of the house of the *ḥwt* of the *pr-ʿ3*” (B.II.77) and *ḥry k3wt n t3 ḥwt n pr-ʿ3*, “one who is over the workmen of the *ḥwt* of the *pr-ʿ3*” (B.II.59; B.II.60), generally referring to the mortuary estate of the Pharaoh. The term *ḥwt*, with its different meanings of “temple”, “house”, “castle” or “tomb”,⁷⁴² could indicate a secular section of the royal building such as a religious one. All these expressions occur in context where a form of royally-connected worship may be involved and word *pr-ʿ3* is clearly used in its later “Pharaoh” meaning.

Expressions such as *imy-r pr n t pr-ʿ3*, “overseer of the house of the room of the *pr-ʿ3*” (B.II.57) or *imy-r gs pr n pr-ʿ3*, “overseer of the side of the house of the *pr-ʿ3*” (B.II.75) mark the transition to the “Pharaoh”-rendering of the word which will be definitive from the Late New Kingdom onwards, with the elaboration of the compound *pr n pr-ʿ3*, “house of the Pharaoh” to refer to the royal residence. In some written sources from Amarna, the word *pr-ʿ3* is used as apposition of the dual form *-pryt pr-ʿ3* recalling the expression *pr (n) pr-ʿ3*, “estate of the Pharaoh”, fully developed in demotic texts of the Late Period.

Despite some of the “bureaucratic” titles mentioned above would suggest an administrative nature of the *pr-ʿ3*-palace, the word *pr-ʿ3* has virtually no use in economic or legal contexts outside its employment in titles. Official New Kingdom documents never mention the *pr-ʿ3* as an administrative or economic entity in its own right. Offices in titles compound with the term *pr-ʿ3* are concerned in areas in which the term *pr-nswt* is more often involved: economic and administrative departments, such as the treasury, the granary, and offices for the scribal profession. I am assuming here that the word *pr-ʿ3* replaces *pr-nswt* when there is need to stress a more direct relationship of the inscription owner with the king. *Pr-ʿ3* might be considered a large multi-functional institution including

⁷⁴² GEG: O,6.

several structures with specific functions and generally intended as royal property: its close link with the ruler and the ambiguity of its meaning in different contexts would explain its transformation from word meaning “palace” to a term for “Pharaoh”.

Summarizing the terminology of **the word *pr-nswt***, narrative texts are the most informative in this respect and they will be the starting point of the discussion. The inscriptions from *Rḥ-mī-r*’s tomb refer to the *pr-nswt* as a main centre of royal government where the vizier (*t3ty*) together with the treasures performed a series of activities, such as controlling the incoming and outgoing related to it, guaranteeing the security and the justice, inspecting the personnel of the structure and organizing the army within it. This composition refers to a number of institutions that were part of the *pr-nswt* or operated alongside it such as the *ḥ3 n pr-nswt*, “the office of the *pr-nswt*”, and the *’ryt*, the “court” of the palace. The *pr-nswt* palace may have been largely concerned with the distribution and collection of goods and most likely reflects an actual administrative practice in civil affairs; the *pr-nswt* apparently had bureaucratic departments and properties in its name. The term is often cited in parallel with other branches of the government; in particular the *ḥnw* appears to be mentioned frequently in contrast with the term *pr-nswt*. Sections that are administered by the *pr-nswt* are the *ḥtmw*, basically meaning “something that is closed or sealed” and in *The Duties* seem to be used in the wider sense of “enclosure” or “gates”, whose closing was recorded by the vizier. The *mnnw*, as a sort of “fortresses”, constitute a pair with the *ḥtmw* in section 2 of the composition. As for the *ḥtmw*, text does not specify the actual location of the *mnnw*, which may therefore belong to the *ḥnw* rather than to the *pr-nswt* itself. Wherever these facilities would have been actually located, the management of their conditions dealt certainly with the *pr-nswt*.

Specific architectural sections that are ascribed as attached to the *pr-nswt* are doors, *sb3w*, (B.II.33, R7-8) that are opened for the free flow of traffic into and out of the *pr-nswt* after the vizier and the treasurer have exchanged their reports outside this institution. Several other compositions refer to the *pr-nswt* as place where entries and outflows were recorded and physically stored. In TT 81 for example, the *pr-nswt* is the place of origin of provisions which would have enriched the house of a private person, *’Inny*, and is the destination of the *ḥnw*-delivery (pAnastasi III - B.I.67). A number of New Kingdom private titles refer to the owner as one who fills (*mḥ*) the *pr-nswt* with different kinds of supplies that range from food-provisions to precious stones.

Titles compound with the term add a little more knowledge of the *pr-nswt*'s function and the activities of its employees. The nature of the offices connected with such designations as *imy-r*, "overseer", *hry sšt3*, "keeper of secrets" or *hry tp*, "at the head" are not always clear, but they seem to be mainly administrative and civil posts. The recurring association of the term with the profession of *sš*, "scribe" (B.II.16; B.II.22; B.II.173; B.I.91), seems to confirm the prominent administrative function of the *pr-nswt*: the *sš n pr-nswt* was entitled to the registration of all the economic and bureaucratic operations of this specific palace or section of a wider structure called *pr-nswt*. Private titles may even mention the responsibility of some kind of works (*k3wt*) of possible carpenters charged with constructions of different nature on king's behalf.

In most cases it is not possible to assert whether **the term *hnw*** would mean a building in its own right, the section of a wider institution, or even a whole residence-city. The *hnw* can be connected to the '*h* and sometimes to the *pr-nswt* by a genitival relation probably indicating the inner section of a wider structure, conserving its original meaning of "interior". One feature that sets this term apart from other words for "palace" is in fact its etymological origin from the trilateral *hnw*, whose base-meaning is "interior/inside". In an inscription from Hatshepsut's Red Chapel (B.I.9), the Queen is described while entering in the *hnw dsrw 'h*, translated as "the holy interior of the '*h*".⁷⁴³ The connection of *hnw* with word *dsrw* suggests that *hnw* may indicate a restricted section of the '*h*, whose access was limited to few people.

Passages from *The Duties* in *Rḥ-mī-r*'s tomb (B.II.33) show the usage of the term as opposed to Thebes, referred to as *Nīwt-rst*, "Southern City". The starting expression of *The Duties* reporting *Rḥ-mī-r*'s titulary as *imy-r n nīwt t3ty n Nīwt-rst n hnw m ḥ3 n t3ty*, "the overseer of the city, the vizier of the Southern City and of the *hnw* in the bureau of the vizier" seems to suggest the existence of two centres as separate residence cities. The use of the term to indicate a whole city-palace is attested since the Middle Kingdom, when *hnw* often refers to Itjtawy in contrast with *Nīwt-rst*.⁷⁴⁴ In a 18th Dynasty context, such as that of the *Rḥ-mī-r*'s *Duties*, the city opposed to Thebes is Memphis, the second important administrative centre of Egypt alongside with Thebes from Hatshepsut's and Thutmose III's reign. Other sections of the same composition refer to distinctions between different

⁷⁴³ Lacau-Chevrier: 99 ff.

⁷⁴⁴ See above.

locations of fields and the army that could be positioned within the Southern city or the *hnw* (B.II.33, R17-19; R23).

In narrative texts and captions as well as in titularies the *hnw* appears as place under which several institutions operated. Examples of expressions containing prepositional compounds like *m hnw*, “in the *hnw*” or *n hnw*, “of the *hnw*” are from contexts associated with *hnw*’s economic activity and registration of income such as those suggested by the title *sš nswt nrỉ.f r ‘k rht m ‘t irp(w) n hnw*, “royal scribe mainly concerning the wine department of the *hnw*” (B.II.141) or from context remanding to the administration of justice, *ipwt*. The expression *st nbt n hnw* “every department of the *hnw*” recorded in a section (B.II.33, R7) of *Rḥ-mỉ-r*’s *Duties* might be referred to some kind of department in charge of undefined governmental tasks. In the same composition the *hnw* is presented as place of arrival and departure of goods of various kinds, by stating that its traffic was dealt by a vizier’s messenger (R 3-4). *The Duties* text describes the vizier’s responsibility on the *hnw*, more specifically on reporting affairs of the *hnw* and organizing the remainder of the army that stays within it (*ḥr-’ wnn .. m hnw*) (B.II.33, R 23).

Summarizing, the use of the term with reference to Memphis as opposed to *Nỉwt-rst* or as specification of Thebes suggests the meaning of *hnw* as “Residence city”. This rendering seems confirmed by a number of Ramessid inscriptions where the word is used as apposition to the name of the new residential city, Piramesse. The translation “residence” for the word *hnw* seems appropriate when used in the sense of “unique place of kingship”.⁷⁴⁵ Since a ruler might have had many “residences”, intended as living-places, the word *hnw* seems to be used with reference to the main residence functioning as centre of kingship or administration in a specific period. While in a 12th and 13th Dynasty context the word *hnw* might identify the residence city Itjtawy, during the 18th Dynasty the word comes to refer to both Thebes and Memphis, working as main governmental centre depending on the contexts. The 19th Dynasty *hnw* instead corresponds to the new capital city Piramesse founded by Rameses II, whose location is to be identified with archaeological remains at Tell el-Dab’a and Qantir in the eastern Delta.

New Kingdom private titles compound with *hnw* such as *sš nswt*, “royal scribe” or *ḥtmw bity*, “sealer of Upper and Lower Egypt” confirm the connection of economic and administrative activities within this institution, like the registration of income and outcome mentioned in other narrative passages. An epithet that begins to be part of the private

⁷⁴⁵ Quirke 2009: 112.

titling of many officials during the 19th Dynasty is *hry-iḥw (n) ḥnw*, “Stable-master of the *ḥnw*” seems to refer to the management of a specific property (*inw*) of the residence city (*ḥnw*).

In early New Kingdom materials the phrases containing the **term *stp-s3*** had a marked association with “praising” or “favoring” in which only the members of the royal entourage and the king’s family were involved. Particularly common are those titles compound in some manner with verb *ḥsi*, “to praise/favor”: *prw ḥsy m stp-s3*, “one who emerged praised/favored from the *stp-s3*” and *mn ḥsw m stp-s3*, “firm of praises/favors in the *stp-s3*” and variants.⁷⁴⁶ The “praising” or the “favoring” of the title owner was done by the king or other royal officials, perhaps on occasions of specific ceremonies where the king’s approval was formally expressed. We can imagine that a ceremonial bestowal of the king’s and the royal entourage’s approval would have taken place before an audience, composed by the royal family and high officials.⁷⁴⁷ According to these considerations, Goelet argues that the term *stp-s3* often involved aspects of the royal residence that were “ceremonial” in the broadest sense of the word.⁷⁴⁸ He further argues that the usage of the word in conjunction with such verbs as *dd*, “to speak”, and *wd*, “to order” in narrative expressions in both private and official inscriptions suggests that the *stp-s3* was also connected with the making-decision process made by the king.⁷⁴⁹ “since the king was involved in this process, such passages probably referred to some manner of royal council where affairs of the state were discussed”.⁷⁵⁰ The interpretation of *stp-s3* as a form of councilor body composed by a group of court-officials is suggested by expressions like *smrw* (“companions”) or *srw* (“officials”) *m/n stp-s3*. Royal orders might consist in bestowing an office on a member of the royal family, as suggested by the donation stele of Queen Ahmose Nefertari (B.I.3), or entrusting officials with the task of guaranteeing offerings to local temples as in an inscription from Semna (B.I.5), the Nauri Decree (B.I.33) and the Inscription of Rameses II from Elephantine (B.I.58). Using the passage from Thutmose III’s Annals where the king reports “what was said in the Majesty of the *stp-s3*, l. p. h.” (*ddwt m ḥm m stp-s3*) to the council of his generals and retainers before the Battle of Megiddo, far beyond the borders of Egypt, he states that the *stp-s3* could also be used to indicate “a

⁷⁴⁶ Goelet 1986: 96.

⁷⁴⁷ Goelet 1986: 96.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: 97.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 97.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 97.

non-permanent or movable royal residence which the king used during his travelling about Egypt or foreign lands”.⁷⁵¹ Some kind of consultative function was involved in the *stp-s3*’s activities, as suggested by the speech of the courtiers to Thutmose III in the inscription of Karnak (B.I.4) expressing their approval to the king’s orders. Garry J. Shaw has recently discussed the real meaning of the expression *m ḥm n stp-s3*, usually translated “in the Majesty of the *stp-s3*”, which appears in this kind of expression:⁷⁵² *wddt m ḥm n stp-s3*, “what was ordered in the Majesty of the *stp-s3*” and *dddt m ḥm n stp-s3*, “what was said in the Majesty of the *stp-s3*”. He states that the expression *m ḥm n stp-s3* does not necessarily mean the presence of the king in the decision-making process, since it is used in contexts in which both the king and other persons could participate.⁷⁵³ The main issue we have already discussed in the Middle Kingdom chapter, is still whether the term *stp-s3* does mean a physical palace, starting from the Middle Kingdom, or whether it should be regarded as a type of activity, rendered by Shaw as “doing *stp-s3*-service”.⁷⁵⁴ Commands and directives could be issued by the king and the officials as well, in the last case being the king consulted for permission. New Kingdom examples provide the meaning “committee” or some form of court body for the *stp-s3* which can be intended in contexts both as the location where the king and the officials met and as the group of people involved. As rightly stressed by Shaw, “there is no need to see the *stp-s3* as a reference to a physical building (..) Such a meeting had to occur in a physical location, and, as such, *stp-s3* can be shown with or without a *pr*-sign determinative. The meeting between those involved must take place somewhere, but not necessarily always in the same place”.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*: 97.

⁷⁵² Shaw 2010: 175. See note no. 2 for the list of various translations of the word in the Egyptian literature.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*: 188.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*: 188.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 84.

PART I. LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDY. THE ROYAL PALACE IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TEXTS.

Chapter 3. Late Period textual sources**3.1 Introduction**

Given the chronological breadth of what Egyptologists call the Late Period (664-332 B.C.),⁷⁵⁶ the time span of this section of the present research must be well defined. Since the philological analysis of written sources is strictly related to the architectural study of archaeological evidence, this chapter will focus on the restricted phase of the Saite Dynasty (664-525 B.C.), the archaeologically known palaces belonging all to this period. A 26th Dynasty platform has been discovered at Memphis by Petrie⁷⁵⁷ and is known to have served as foundation for a palace of Apries (589-570 B.C.), whose name appeared on portions of inscribed columns of the structure.⁷⁵⁸ The raised palace of Apries parallels the platform called El-Kasr el-Bint el-Yehudi at Tell Defenna⁷⁵⁹ in the eastern Delta, dated by foundation deposits to the reign of Psamtek I. Another example of casemate platform has been discovered at Tell el-Balamun, probably of the same period.⁷⁶⁰ For the great enclosure containing a large casemate building at Naukratis⁷⁶¹ instead, Muhs has argued a Ptolemaic date.⁷⁶² At Sais, the ancestral seat of the 26th Dynasty and one of its main centres of power, the EES has identified the so-called Northern Enclosure, in which traces of massive mud brick walls have been recognized and interpreted as “the Citadel or Royal Palace of the 26th Dynasty kings”.⁷⁶³ A 26th Dynasty casemate mud-bricks building with probable palatial functions has been unearthed in Buto by the German Archaeological Institute in 2006.⁷⁶⁴ Using A. J. Spencer’s definition, all these structures were “secure citadels with a function

⁷⁵⁶ Lloyd 2000: 369 ff.

⁷⁵⁷ Petrie 1909.

⁷⁵⁸ Kemp 1977a: 108.

⁷⁵⁹ Petrie 1888a: 52-61, pls. 43-44. Petrie 1892: 50-63. Lloyd 2000: 373.

⁷⁶⁰ Spencer 1996: chapter 2.

⁷⁶¹ Petrie 1886: 24-6, 32-4, pls. 42-3.

⁷⁶² Muhs 1994: 93-113. The suggestion for a Ptolemaic date is based on the materials of that age found by Petrie in the compartments of the platform, in Petrie 1886: 32-3.

⁷⁶³ Wilson 2009.

⁷⁶⁴ Hartung 2007; <http://www.dainst.org/buto>

which combined an administrative role with the need for security”.⁷⁶⁵ Their similarity with the palace of Apries at Memphis does not allow to state with certainty their royal nature, since they might similarly be intended for local administration. As suggested by Spencer, the interpretation of these platforms as governorate buildings would make perfect sense in the unstable conditions affecting Egypt of the early 26th Dynasty.⁷⁶⁶

While taking the Palace of Apries at Memphis as a point of departure for general considerations on Late Period residences, the textual analysis will be primarily focused on texts of the 26th Dynasty. However, the catalogue will also consider earlier documents from the 21th to the 25th Dynasty in order to allow comparisons for functional interpretation. Written sources of the 8th to 5th centuries B.C. will be likewise examined when they might provide information about the nature and location of royal residential sites. The Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 B.C.)⁷⁶⁷ texts, although coming from a completely different geographical and cultural context, will be useful for comparisons with the Saite sources and for the study of the chronological development of the ancient Egyptian terminology for “palace”. While analyzing texts from such a chronological span, we have to consider the complex historical context of this section, characterized by significant changes in Egypt’s political organization. Most of the Third Intermediate Period⁷⁶⁸ was in fact an era of political decentralization in the Nile Valley, during which the centre of power was moved from one place to another, depending on the origin of the ruling Dynasty. The interpretation of the function of the palace in texts is highly conditioned by the difficulty in identifying the precise geographical location of the central administration in a period during which the central government was replaced by political

⁷⁶⁵ Spencer 1999: 299.

⁷⁶⁶ Spence 1999: 300.

⁷⁶⁷ Shaw 2000.

⁷⁶⁸ The 400-year period, comprising the 21st to the 25th Dynasty is characterized by significant changes in Egypt’s political organization, society and culture. A main aspect connected to the royal palace is the frequent changing of the centers of power, depending on the origin of the various Dynasties. The 21st Dynasty was founded by Smendes (1069-1043 B.C.) in the north, with his power base at the eastern Delta site of Tanis, a new city whose main monuments were built largely of reused materials brought from Piramesse and other northern cities. During the 22nd Dynasty, in particular during the reign of Sheshonq III (825-773 B.C.) and that of his successors, Thebes was recognized again as the location of the power base, in preference to the rule of Tanis. According to some scholars, the so-called 23th Dynasty is composed by several virtually autonomous rulers in the Delta, but it remains unclear if instead it was composed by the successors of the 22nd Dynasty kings. The 24th Dynasty was a short-lived rival Dynasty located in the western Delta, with only two Pharaohs ruling from 727 to 715 B.C.). The 25th Dynasty, known as the Nubian Dynasty, was a line of rulers originating in the Kingdom of Kush who reigned in Egypt from 744 to 656 B.C. El Kurru may have been the original power base of these rulers, since a settlement with defensive wall has been identified there, but by the late 8th century, their political and religious focus had shifted to Napata, close to the great rocky outcrop of Gebel Barkal.

fragmentation. The problem of locating the royal residence in Late Period Egypt has been deeply discussed by Claus Jurman in his MPhil thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham. In the section of his work dedicated to the interpretation of the 26th Dynasty sources, he has suggested an ambulatory kingship based on the two cities of Sais and Memphis.⁷⁶⁹ As I have argued elsewhere, the sources under consideration in the present thesis have been analyzed with regard to the information they might provide about the nature and function of palatial ancient Egyptian terminology, referring to other studies for identifying royal residential sites and specifically to Jurman's study for the Late Period.

3.2 Term 'h in royal and narrative texts

In royal inscriptions the term 'h is often found in connection with the ceremonial appearance of the king. In the 25th Dynasty triumphal Stele of Piankhy, following the account of the booty seized in Hermopolis, Piankhy is described while making his appearance in his 'h in order to proceed to the temple of Thoth. According to the context of the text, the term should indicate a non-permanent building, such as a pavilion, used by the king during his visit in Hermopolis⁷⁷⁰ (C.I.5):

[hm.f] 'h' n sh'f m 'h.f

His Majesty arises in glory in his 'h

An earlier monument of the time of Takeloth II describes 'Imn-m-Int as one introduced in the 'h at the appearance (h'i) of the king (CG 42230 - C.II.5):

bs in k r 'h(t) m h'i(t) nswt gr 'nh nb n Wsr

I was introduced into the 'h(t) at the appearance of the king with a bouquet of the Lord of Thebes

A few line above Nimlot addresses Piankhy as Hr nb 'h, the use of the term 'h in association with god's epithets continuing to be attested in Late Period Texts. In another monument of Piankhy, the stele no. 26 from Gebel Barkal, the king is defined as s3 R' nb 'h, "son of Ra, Lord of the 'h" (C.I.4).

⁷⁶⁹ Jurman 2006: 122.

⁷⁷⁰ Breasted considers this building as a "tent", in: Breasted 1906-7, 4: 420.

The connection between Horus and the *‘h* is known since the Old Kingdom⁷⁷¹ and continues to be used during the Late Period as confirmed by some expressions and titles in private inscriptions of the 21th and 22nd Dynasty:

Expressions compound with <i>Hr</i> + <i>‘h</i>				
<i>ir.ī ḥsī Hr m ‘h.f</i>	I did as the Horus praised in his <i>‘h</i>	<i>‘Imn-m-īnt</i> (Taketot II)	CG 42230; JE 36706; Karnak Cachette Nr. 81	C.II.10
<i>irtw nswt-bīty ‘nhwy n īmy-īb n Hr nb ‘h</i>	Eyes of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, hears of the favorite of Horus, Lord of the <i>‘h</i>	<i>Ns-p3-R’</i> (Osorkon II - Taketot II)	CG 42221; JE 36919; Karnak Cachette Nr. 122.	C.II.7
<i>wḥm ḥswt n Hrw m ‘h ḥry(t).n.ī</i>	Repeated favors for Horus in the <i>‘h</i> (for what) I had done	<i>Dd-Dḥwty-īw.f-‘nh</i> (22 nd -23 th Dyn.)	CG 39217; JE 25142	C.II.20
<i>mḥ-īb Hr nb ‘h</i>	Intimate of Horus in the <i>‘h</i>	<i>Nb-ntrw</i> (Osorkon II - Harsiese A)	CG 42225; JE 37521; Karnak Cachette Nr. 347.	C.II.3

The use of the *‘h* on ceremonial occasions is evoked by a passage in the Shellal stele of Psamtek II (C.I.10) in which he is presented while making offerings (*‘3bwt* or *wdnw*), to all the gods of Egypt:

ll. 10-12) *rdīt n ḥm.f m3’ ‘3bwt ‘3t m īw3w wndw n ntrw nbw Šm’w T3-mḥw wdnw n ntrw stp-s3 m ‘ht* His Majesty has given great offerings consisting of long- and short-horned cattle for all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, (and) reversion offerings for the gods of the royal presence in the *‘ht*

Again in the Piankhy stele no. 25 (C.I.5), the term *‘h* is mentioned in the context of an offering ceremony, this time made by common people in the palace:

§25, 146-147) *īmnt ī3bt t3w ḥtpw ḥry-īb ḥr ḥt.sn n snd.f ḥr rdīt km3 ḥt.sn r bw ḥm.f mī ndsw nt ‘ht* The West and the East and the lands of the centre are flat-belly for fear of it, making offerings of their goods in the place of His Majesty as the poor men of the *‘h(t)*

⁷⁷¹ Gundlach 2009: 60 ff.

Narration of the Elephantine Stele of Amasis (Cairo 13.6.24.1 - C.I.14) begins with year 1, when Amasis is said to hold council at his Saite palace, despite the interpretation of hieroglyph 'h is uncertain.⁷⁷²

Accepting Posener's rendering of the passage,⁷⁷³ the 'h.f Nî(y) may refer to a royal residence situated somewhere within the Saite nome:

l. 2-3) wnn hm.f m 'h.f Nî(y) hr nd šr n t3 r dr.f His Majesty was in his 'h of Nî(y) to protect the fortune of the whole Land

The question whether 'h.f Nî(y) is to be considered as a palace in the capital Sais or just a royal residence situated somewhere within the Saite nome remains open.⁷⁷⁴

In the inscription on his naophorous statue Louvre A 93, P3f-t3w(-m)-'w-Nt (C.II.37), who held among the other offices the position of superintendent of the central treasury (*imy-r prwy hd/nbw*)⁷⁷⁵ and chief steward (*imy-r pr-wr*) during the reign of Apries and Amasis, describes the measures he has taken in order to restore the architectural institutional and economic framework of the cults of Osiris at Abydos.⁷⁷⁶ This is said to have been carried out by royal command, after P3f-t3w(-m)-'w-Nt had reported "the affairs of Abydos" to the king at his 'h-palace:

l. 2) iw s'rn(y) mdt 3bdw r-hn 'h r sdm hm.f He refers the affairs of Abydos at the 'h for the knowledge of the king

Several 21th and 22nd Dynasty biographies describe the entering of the inscription owner in the *dsrw*,⁷⁷⁷ literally meaning the "sacred places" of the 'h. The connection between *dsrw* and 'h is known since the New Kingdom in both official and private inscriptions. In the Coronation Text of Hatshepsut, carved on the blocks of the Red Chapel at Karnak (B.I.9), there is a description of the procession of the bark of the god Amun leaving the temple area and entering the royal palace. Text describes the Queen and the bark moving from the

⁷⁷² Daressy translates the passage as "Sa Majesté était au Conseil, à s'occuper des destinées de la terre entière" taking the sign following the preposition *m* as an approximation of the term *ifd*, "diwan" (Daressy 1900b: 3 f.). Edel, author of a new collection of the text rendered it as "Als sich Seine Majestät in seinem Palast im saitischen Gau befand, indem er das Geschick des ganzen Landes besprach" (Edel 1978: 19). Posener confirms Edel's rendering of the passage (Posener 1934: 148).

⁷⁷³ Posener 1933: 148.

⁷⁷⁴ Jurman 2006: 56-57, note no. 196.

⁷⁷⁵ Piehl 1893: 88.

⁷⁷⁶ Jelinkova-Reymond 1957: 287. Otto 1954: 164-166. Lichtheim 1973-1980, III: 33-36.

⁷⁷⁷ GEG: D 45, 604. Wb V: 612.

interior (*hnw*) of a place called *dsrw nw 'h.s*, “the sacred places”⁷⁷⁸ of her ‘*h*’.⁷⁷⁹ Eilen Hirsch has recently suggested that word *dsrw* specifies a “sanctuary room” within the palace”, being the place where the sacred bark stationed before the procession, and more specifically a “sacred room connected with festivals and containing sacred room”.⁷⁸⁰ The occasion during which this area of the ‘*h*’ was used may also be of more secular nature, such as the appearance of the Queen in the double crown at the presence of her courtiers described in the inscription of the 9th year of Hatshepsut’s reign recording the expedition to *Pwnt* at Deir el-Bahari (B.I.12):

rnpt 9 hpr hmst m d3dw nswt h'i(t) m shmty hr st wrt nt d'm hnw dsrw nw 'h.f st3 srw smrw nw stp-s3 r sdm ssm n wdt In the 9th year the Queen was in the *d3dw*; appearance of the king in the double crown on the great throne of gold in the sacred *hnw* of his ‘*h*’; walk of officials and courtiers of the *stp-s3* to hear the guide of the command.

Therefore *dsrw* could be interpreted as a space with ritual connotation involved in the procession of gods⁷⁸¹ and the appearance of the king and we can imagine that the access to this area was limited to a restricted number of people, as suggested by inscription on the cube statue Berlin 17272 (C.II.18) of the time of Osorkon III:

bs hr nswt m w'w m33 'h m dsrw.s The unique one who is introduced the king, overseer of the ‘*h*’ of its sacred places

Narrative expressions compound with ‘ <i>h</i> ’ + <i>dsrw</i>				
<i>bs.n.fr 'h m dsrw.s</i>	[Amun] brought me in the ‘ <i>h</i> ’ in his private places	<i>Nb-ntrw</i> (Osorkon II - Harsiese A)	CG 42225; JE 37521; Karnak Cachette Nr. 347	C.II.3
<i>'k m 'h m dsrw.s</i>	One who enters the ‘ <i>h</i> ’ in its private places	<i>Nb-ntrw</i> (Osorkon II - Harsiese A)	CG 42225; JE 37521; Karnak Cachette Nr. 347	C.II.3
<i>m33 dsrw 'h</i>	Overseer of the sacred places of the ‘ <i>h</i> ’	<i>Nht.f-Mwt</i> (Osorkon III - Takelot III)	Cairo CG 42211; JE 37159; Karnak Cachette Nr. 378	C.II.17
<i>m33 nswt n dsrw</i>	Royal overseer of	<i>B[3k]-n-Hnsw</i>	Cairo CG 42213; JE	C.II.6

⁷⁷⁸ Lacau and Chevrier translate: ‘de l’intérieur des splendeurs de son palais’, in: Lacau - Chevrier 1977-79: 101.

⁷⁷⁹ URK IV: 349, 10-12.

⁷⁸⁰ Hirsch 2009: 76.

⁷⁸¹ A room similar to the *dsrw* is mentioned in the building inscription of Sesostri I, which would have been placed in the “White Chapel” of Sesostri I. An inscription on a pillar shows the god “Amun at the front of the *dsrwt*”. Eileen Hirsch has suggested that the building mentioned in the same inscription, called *Hpr-k3-R' ptry-k3ww*, was a ritual palace involved in the procession of the god, who paused perhaps in a *dsrt* room. Hirsch 2009: 76.

'h(t)	the sacred places of the 'h(t)	(Osorkon II) <i>Ds-Ḥnsw-īw.f-ḥ</i> (Takelot I) ? (Osorkon III)	37429; Karnak Cachette Nr. 154 CG 559 Berlin 17272	C.II.2 C.II.18
<i>īw 'k.n.ī knḥ 'h m dsrw.s</i>	I entered in the 'h in its sacred places	[3k]-n-Ḥnsw (Osorkon II)	CG 42213; JE 37429; Karnak Cachette Nr. 154	C.II.6
<i>īnk nb nmtt (m) 'h(t) dsrt</i>	I was free of steps in the sacred 'h(t)	'nḥ-rnp-nfr (Osorkon III)	BM 1007	C.II.19

3.3 Term *pr-ʿ3* in royal and narrative texts

Starting from the New Kingdom,⁷⁸² the term *pr-ʿ3* definitely became a common designation of the king in the Late Period,⁷⁸³ when its use for referring to the royal place must be considered a rare archaism.⁷⁸⁴

The passage of the 25th Dynasty Stele of Piankhy (C.I.5) recording the submission of Herakleopolis does not necessarily speak in favor of the interpretation of *pr-ʿ3* as Pharaoh:

§14, 70-71) *īī pw īrī.n ḥk3 n Nnī-nswt (Pf-t3w- 'wī-B3st) ḥrī īnw r pr-ʿ3 nbw ḥd '3 nb.(t) (..)* The Royal Prince Infant *Pf-t3w- 'wī-B3st* came, charged of tributes, to the *pr-ʿ3*, of gold, silver and all the stones (..)⁷⁸⁵

In this specific context the *pr-ʿ3* receiving the *īnw*-tribute might be intended as physical place as well as the king's person.

The traditional meaning of *pr-ʿ3* as royal building seems maintained in the context of two naoi of Amasis (570-526 B.C.) respectively in the collections of the Louvre (C.I.15) and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Leiden (C.I.16). In the upper part of the front of these monuments the king is referred to by the epithets *ntr nfr ḥnty pr-ʿ3* in Louvre D 29⁷⁸⁶ and

⁷⁸² See above.

⁷⁸³ GEG: 75. Osing 1982: 1021.

⁷⁸⁴ Jurman 2006: 19.

⁷⁸⁵ Grimal 1981: 76 f., pl. 24, l. 70 f.

⁷⁸⁶ Piankoff 1933: 162, fig. 1.

Hrw nfr hnty pr-ʿ3 in Leiden AM. 107;⁷⁸⁷ the *nisba* makes suppose that the *pr-ʿ3* can only be referred to a building directly related to the king.⁷⁸⁸

In the Dakhleh stele⁷⁸⁹ dated to the 22nd Dynasty the word *pr-ʿ3* served as apposition of the names of Kings Sheshonq and Pseusennes. The opposition in a passage of the Lybian stele between the *nw nmhw*, “the water of *nmh*-men” and the *nw pr-ʿ3*, must be probably interpreted as distinction between the “private waters” and the “waters of the Crown”, the term *pr-ʿ3* here referring clearly to the Pharaoh.⁷⁹⁰

The use of the term *pr-ʿ3* as apposition of royal names continues to be attested during the 26th Dynasty. In the Petition of *P3-dī-3st* (C.I.17) the word *pr-ʿ3* is specified by the name of Psamtek: *pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb Psmṯk*. In the same stele, phrases introduced by the formula *hpr h3t-sp N° n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb Psmṯk* refer to specific regnal years of Psamtek: “in the tot year of the Pharaoh, I. p. h. Psamtek I”. In other passages *pr-ʿ3* is the subject of speeches introduced by expressions such as *dd pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb*, “speech of the Pharaoh, I. p. h.” or *dd.n.f. pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb*, “the Pharaoh I. p. h. said”.

The Petition of *P3-dī-3st* (C.I.17) offers valuable information for reconstructing the administrative structure and the social background of the Saite Dynasty and the early Persian Egypt,⁷⁹¹ although the discussion on its documentary character is still open among Egyptian scholars.⁷⁹² In the 4th year of Psamtek’s reign, the shipmaster *P3-dī-3st* is said to have been brought to the *pr pr-ʿ3* and before the Pharaoh, *m b3h pr-ʿ3*, where he received gifts.

<i>VI,3) inw P3-dī-3st s3 ʿlrtw-r(w) m-b3h pr-ʿ3 ʿnh</i> <i>wd3 snb</i>	<i>P3-dī-3st</i> , son of <i>ʿlrtw-r(w)</i> , was brought to the presence of the Pharaoh, I. p. h., and he said to the Pharaoh, I. p. h. (..)
--	---

⁷⁸⁷ Boeser 1905-32, VII: pl. 2, fig. 1b.

⁷⁸⁸ Jurman 2006: 20.

⁷⁸⁹ This stele in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford was discovered in the Dakhla Oasis in 1894 and belonged to the prince of the Oasis, overseer of plantations *W3y-hst*, in Gardiner 1933: 23, pl. V-VII.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid*: 21.

⁷⁹¹ Vittmann 1998: pls. IX-XIV.

⁷⁹² Many scholars consider the text as a purely legal document, an official petition and a non-fictional account of events even if furnished with dramatic effects by the narrator (Griffith 1909: 25; 60 f. Roeder 1926: 250). In more recent years Papyrus Rylands IX has often been treated as “on the margin of literature” (Quack 2005: 162-166), or “miscellaneous” (Depauw 1997: 102. See also: Wessetzky 1977: 499-502. Chauveau 1996: 233 f.). Other scholars point out its main literary aim, given the fact that its author has employed a certain amount of literary taste and artistic license when retelling the facts happened to the protagonists (Quack 2005: 166). Vittmann asserts that the papyrus is a copy of a draft for a petition intended to be really brought (Vittmann 1998, 2: 685 f.).

After the death of the shipmaster *P3-dī-3st*, the Pharaoh bestows his power onto his son, *P3-dī-3st I*, who suggests that *Sm3-t3wy-t3y.f nḥtt*, the late shipmaster's son, should succeed his father. He is referred to as a man belonging to the household of the Pharaoh (*pr n pr-ʿ3*):

X,4) (P3-dī-3st) rmt is p3 pr n pr-ʿ3 'nḥ wd3 snb (*P3-dī-3st*) man belonging to the *pr n pr-ʿ3*

The proper name for “palace” used in the Petition of *P3-dī-3st* has become *pr n pr-ʿ3 'nḥ wd3 snb*, literally meaning “house/estate of the Pharaoh, l. p. h.”, an expression going back to the 19th Dynasty.⁷⁹³

V,16) (P3-dī-3st) int.f r p3 pr pr-ʿ3 'nḥ wd3 snb He (*P3-dī-3st*) have been brought to the *pr pr-ʿ3*

X,4) (P3-dī-3st) rmt is p3 pr n pr-ʿ3 'nḥ wd3 snb (*P3-dī-3st*) man belonging to the *pr n pr-ʿ3*

XVI,14) pd n3 w'bw r mḥd r r3 n p3 pr pr-ʿ3 Then the priest hurried to the north to the *pr pr-ʿ3*

Following his return from the Asiatic expedition of Psamtek II, *P3-dī-3st II* travels from Taudjoi northwards to the *pr n pr-ʿ3*. The lack of more geographical precision does not allow to localize the exact position of the palace:

XV,8) P3-dī-3st r mḥd r-r3 n p3 pr n pr-ʿ3 'nḥ wd3 snb *P3-dī-3st* travelled northwards to the *pr n pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.

In his *pr pr-ʿ3* the king is surrounded by courtiers defined as *rmt p3 ḥn n p3 pr pr-ʿ3*. *Hr-ḥnsw*, one of Pharaoh's closest courtiers, is described as a man allowed to enter the king's private quarters or an intimate part of the palace:

XVI,16) rmt iw.f twt r pr-ʿ3 n t3 ḳnḥ p3i A man who pleases the Pharaoh even in the bedchamber

The Demotic papyrus Berlin 13615 (C.I.18) found in Elephantine and dated to year 41 of Amasis contains a list of the military personnel accompanying the king; among the mentioned men there are a scribe of the House of Life, *sš pr-nḥ*, and a physician, *swnw*,

⁷⁹³ See above.

both classified as *rmt īw.f 'ḥ' m-b3ḥ pr-'3*,⁷⁹⁴ “men standing in front of the Pharaoh”, the expression *m-b3ḥ pr-'3* recalling the aforementioned passage of the Petition of *P3-dī-3st* (C.I.17).

The recto of the 26th Dynasty Demotic papyrus Cairo CG 31167 (C.II.54) contains a letter of a certain Teos, son of *P3-dī-3st*, addressed to his *ḥrī* likewise named *P3-dī-3st*; lines 26 ff. contain reference to the *pr-'3* as direct object of verb *ph*, “to follow”, suggesting a “Pharaoh” translation:

ḥpr bn pw.ī dī ph pr-'3

It happen that I could not reach the Pharaoh

The use of demotic literature in the present work raises the question of its documentary character and to what extent it can reflect contemporary social practices or institutions and may be analyzed in order to gain historical knowledge.⁷⁹⁵ Assumed the ambiguities of a “fictionally”⁷⁹⁶ text which can be written with precise aims involving a specific audience, a story must have been composed upon the experienced daily reality of the common cultural sense, in order to achieve convincingness and fulfill the “fictional contract”⁷⁹⁷ between the author and the audience. Being a text embedded in its contemporary culture, it necessarily incorporates implicit historical information, which will be used considering the context of text production.⁷⁹⁸

Some literary Late Period texts confirm the change of the meaning of *pr-'3* as Pharaoh and provides other proofs of the usage of the new term *pr pr-'3* to indicate a royal building (*pr*) belonging to the Pharaoh: *pr-'3* is used as subject in expressions recording situations happened within the *pr pr-'3* itself. In the narrative introduction to the Instructions of *'nh-Ššnky* (C.III.1),⁷⁹⁹ the circumstances that led to the composition of the maxims are described.⁸⁰⁰ A priest of Ra at Heliopolis, *'nh-Ššnky*, has come to visit his friend *Ḥr-s3-'lst* at Memphis recently appointed chief royal physician by the king. *Ḥr-s3-'lst* confides to him that he and other courtiers are plotting to kill the Pharaoh and *'nh-Ššnky* tries

⁷⁹⁴ Zauzich 1992: 362, 2.

⁷⁹⁵ Questions about the relation between “fictionality” and “realism” in ancient Egyptian Texts have received high attention by the scholars in recent years: Assman 1999a: 14 f. Moers 1999: 37-52. Moers 2001. Loprieno 1996: 45-55. Gutschmidt 2004: 75 ff.

⁷⁹⁶ Loprieno 1996: 43. Moers 1999: 39.

⁷⁹⁷ Moers 1999: 39.

⁷⁹⁸ Jurman 2006: 67.

⁷⁹⁹ Considering the final transformation of the term *pr-'3*, definitely used throughout the text in its meaning of Pharaoh, I have chosen to select only those sections referring to the *pr-pr'3* in order to analyze the use of this new expression for “palace”.

⁸⁰⁰ Lichtheim 1973-1980, III: 160.

unsuccessfully to dissuade his friend from the plot reminding him what the king has recently done for him and the agreement he had among the other courtiers:

2,11) *īr n.k pr-ʿ3 mdt nfrt ʿš3y [...] pr pr-ʿ3 drw īrw* Pharaoh has done for you many good things
īn.k r pr pr-ʿ3 mtwk nkt n p3 t3 [more than] for all [the great men] of the *pr pr-ʿ3*. You were brought to the *pr pr-ʿ3* when you had no property on the earth.

2,15) *n3 s3wtw n3 īmy-r mšʿw n3 rmtw ʿ3w pr pr-ʿ3* The guards, the generals and all the great men of
mtr r.s drw [r] īr.s the *pr pr-ʿ3* are all agreed upon it to do it

The conversation between *Hr-s3-ʿlst* and *ʿnh-ššnky* is overheard by a servant who reports it to the king. *Hr-s3-ʿlst* and the others are invited to the palace (*pr pr-ʿ3*) and are executed thanks to a pyre prepared at its door:

3,10-11) *dd.n.f pr-ʿ3 Hr-s3-ʿlst s3 Rʿ-ms īrw īn.k r* Pharaoh said to him: *Hr-s3-ʿlst*, son of *Rʿ-ms*, it
pr pr-ʿ3 īw mn mtwk nkt n p3 t3 was when you had no property that you were brought to the *pr pr-ʿ3*

4,3-4) *dī pr-ʿ3 qdw wʿt hwt3t 3st hr r3 pr pr-ʿ3 dī.f* Pharaoh caused an altar of earth to be built at
dīw Hr-s3-ʿlst s3 Rʿ-ms (n) p3 ʿh hmt īrm rmt nb the door of the *pr pr-ʿ3*. He caused *Hr-s3-ʿlst* son
nt mtf trw īrm nb īrm p3 ʿš-šn bn pr-ʿ3 of *Rʿ-ms* to be brought with all his people and every man who has conspired against Pharaoh.

ʿnh-ššnky is sent to prison for having failed to inform the king and here he receives regularly food from the *pr pr-ʿ3*:

4,7) *r.f hpr.f īw hr īnw t3ī.f hr.r [-bnr n] pr pr-ʿ3* His food used to be brought in from the *pr pr-ʿ3*
 daily

In the Instructions of *ʿnh-ššnky* the term *pr pr-ʿ3* refers to the physical place where the Pharaoh and the courtiers (“guards”, *s3wtw*, “generals”, *īmy-r mšʿw*, and “great men”, *rmtw ʿ3w*) operate. The *pr pr-ʿ3* of the text is located in Memphis (col. 3,8). Despite the 26th Dynasty setting⁸⁰¹ appears so convincing that the text must either have been composed during that period, the exact date of this composition is still debated among scholars.⁸⁰²

⁸⁰¹ Quack 2002: 329 ff.

⁸⁰² The fact that the introduction is set in the Saite Period provides a terminus post quem for its date of composition. Generally, however a much later date is preferred, in Ryholt 2000: 119.

Even the *pr pr-ʿ3* cited in the Saqqara Demotic Papyri text 1/1a (C.I.19) should be located in Memphis, since the city is mentioned in col. XIII, 23 and is described as the location of the court in col. XIV, 6 f.:⁸⁰³

6,6) š3wti ^w n3 mr-mš3w n3 rmtw ʿ3 n <i>pr-pr-ʿ3</i>	The guards, the generals and the great men of the <i>pr pr-ʿ3</i>
13,24-14,10) šm <i>pr-ʿ3</i> r <i>pr-pr-ʿ3</i>	Depart of the Pharaoh to the <i>pr-pr-ʿ3</i>

3.4 Term *pr-nswt* in royal and narrative texts

In the 25th Dynasty Gebel Barkal stele (C.I.5) Piankhy enters in the palace of Nimlot, after having made his visit to the local temple in Hermopolis:

§13, 62) wd3 pw iri.n hm.f r <i>pr-nswt</i> (Nmlt)	His Majesty proceeded to the <i>pr-nswt</i> of Nimlot.
šm.n.f ʿt nbt nt <i>pr-nswt pr-ḥd.f wd3w.f</i>	He strode through every chamber of the <i>pr-nswt</i> , its treasury and its storeroom

The *pr-nswt* of Nimlot is perceived as an architectural entity with a treasury (*pr-ḥd*), chambers (ʿt), and storage facilities (*wd3w*). Another passage of the Piankhy stele is dedicated to the description of the rules to be observed before entering the *pr-nswt*, consisting in a previous purification (*wn m wʿb*, “being in quality of pure”) and diet restrictions: *kḳ rmw*, “not eating fish”, and *wn mʿw*, “being circumcised” is considered an abomination for the *pr-nswt*, *bwt pw nt pr-nswt*:⁸⁰⁴

§26,151-152) nn ʿk.n.sn r <i>pr-nswt dr ntt wnn.sn</i>	They do not enter in the <i>pr-nswt</i> since they have
ʿmʿw hnʿ kḳ rmw bwt pw nt <i>pr-nswt ʿls nswt</i>	been circumcised and eat fish, this is an
Nmrt ʿk.f r <i>pr-nswt dr ntt wn.n.f m wʿb nn kḳ.f</i>	abomination for the <i>pr-nswt</i> . The king Nmrt
rmwʿhʿ.n hmt 3rdw.sn wʿm ʿk <i>pr-nswt</i>	enters in the <i>pr-nswt</i> since he has been pure and
	he didn't eat fish, three were out and one went
	into the <i>pr-nswt</i> .

In the Adpotion stele of Nitocris from Karnak (C.I.11), lines 7-10 of the text describe Nitocris' voyage from the *ipt nswt*⁸⁰⁵ to Thebes. The location of the *ipt nswt*, “the royal

⁸⁰³ Smith – Tait 1983.

⁸⁰⁴ The taboo of eating fish is well known in the ancient Egyptian culture, but here it is applied to the royal palace. See Grimal 1981: note no. 530.

⁸⁰⁵ Der Manuelian 1994: 300. Breasted 1906: 482, §944.

apartments”⁸⁰⁶ is not made explicit, even if the context of the king giving away his daughter suggests that it was situated within the royal residence; whether this was located in Memphis or Sais is not understandable from the context.⁸⁰⁷ Being accompanied by her retainers (*šmsw.s*) and attendants (*šn’w*) Nitocris’s daughter takes the road to the *tp-š*, quay/lake,⁸⁰⁸ in order to embark on the river journey to the South. The *pr-nswt* is cited as place where is stored everything necessary (*ḥt nb nfrt nt pr-nswt*) for the fitting of the ships, *ḥ’w*, and the crew, *šwt*, used in the procession to bring Princess Nitocris into the college of priestesses at Karnak during Psamtek I’s reign:

<p><i>l. 8) sšp w3t nfrt r tp-š r rdīt ḥr m ḥnt r W3st ‘ḥ’w ḥr.s m tnw ‘3t šwt m nḥt-’w 3tp r 3w r ḥ3w ḥrw m ḥt nb nfrt nt pr-nswt</i></p>	<p>They took the road happily to the quay/lake, in order to head south of the Theban nome, ships about her in great numbers, crews consisting of strong-armed men, laden up to the gunwales thereof with every good thing of the <i>pr-nswt</i></p>
--	---

3.5 Term *hnw* in royal and narrative texts

References to the *hnw* as “residence city” are known since the Middle Kingdom and become more explicit in the New Kingdom and specifically in the Ramessid Period.⁸⁰⁹ This use continues to be attested during the 26th Dynasty. In the Piankhy stele (C.I.5) the king addresses Memphis and its inhabitants, invoking the city as *hnw šw m sp tpī*, “palace of *šw* in the beginning”. According to Jurman, the whole point of this comparison seems to lie in Memphis’ mythological role as the god’s “official” residence city.⁸¹⁰

During the 21th Dynasty, according to the rock stele near Gebelein (C.I.1), King Smendes was dwelling in his residence of Memphis when he learnt that flood waters had damaged temples at Luxor:

⁸⁰⁶ The term may also be translated as “royal harim” as in the Piankhy stele where it is written with the female determinative: Grimal 1981: 52 f.; 63, n. 145.

⁸⁰⁷ Caminos 1964: 81.

⁸⁰⁸ Der Manuelian 1994: 300.

⁸⁰⁹ As pointed out by Jurman (Jurman 2006: 30), this is perhaps best illustrated by the judicial inscription from the tomb of Mes, in which, at one point, the vizier prompts a scribe to go to Piramesse and retrieve legal documents from the Treasury of Pharaoh there, since he would belong to the residence at any rate. See Gardiner 1905: 8 f., 47 f. For the use of the word *hnw* as apposition of the city of Piramesse see also the Decree of Ptah recorded on several stelae of Rameses II and III: KRI II: 269-9-11.

⁸¹⁰ Jurman 2006: 32.

ist hm.f n dmi Hw.t-k3-Pth hnw.f šps n knt nht mi His Majesty stayed in the town of Memphis, his
R' *hnw*, noble of force and victorious as Ra

Since *hnw.f* follows *Hw.t-k3-Pth* as a specification of it, its meaning must come close to “residential city” as referred to Memphis.⁸¹¹

On the Gebel el-Silsilah stele no. 100 (C.I.2), a monument set up in the name of Sheshonq I, one reads that the king is residing in the *hnw* of a place called *pr 3s.t P3-k3-‘3-R’-Hrw-3h.ty* (lit. *Pr-3st*, “The Great Soul of Ra-Harakhte”). The royal residence mentioned in the text is unknown elsewhere and its precise location cannot be ascertained; it could be positioned in some place in Lower Egypt where Sheshonq I and his successor seem to have regularly resided.⁸¹² In this case the term *hnw* seems to denote a building or a place connected with a bigger topographical unit that may be linked hypothetically to a major settlement in the Delta. Considering the usage of the epithet “The Great soul of Ra-Harakhte” referring to Piramesse⁸¹³ in earlier sources, a connection with the old Ramessid capital may be supposed.⁸¹⁴

In the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon (C.I.3), the term *hnw* is qualified by the place-name *T3-dhn.t-n.t-‘lmn-‘3-hmhm.t*, an uncommon name of Taudjoii/el-Hibeh.⁸¹⁵ It was the fortified place opposite the island of el-Hibeh, on the east bank of the Nile, around 150 km south of Cairo, presumably founded in the 21th Dynasty and became particularly prominent under the Libyan Pharaohs.⁸¹⁶ The term *hnw* is clearly used in the text to designate an official residence.

In several Kushite inscriptions the *hnw* is linked to the place-name Memphis, its meaning coming close to “residential city”. In a passage of the 25th Dynasty Kawa stele IV of Taharqa (690-664 B.C.) (C.I.7), the king tells how he dispatched his army, several groups of workmen and artisans to Kawa in order to refurbish the local temple of Amun.⁸¹⁷ Taharqa is referred to as residing in Memphis at the time the building efforts were undertaken:

hm.f m hnw ‘lnb-ḥd ‘h’.n kd.w hw.t-ntr tn His Majesty was in the *hnw* (of) Memphis (at that time) this temple was constructed

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*: 30.

⁸¹² Caminos 1952: 55.

⁸¹³ Gardiner 1918: 136 f.; 269.

⁸¹⁴ Caminos 1952: 55.

⁸¹⁵ Caminos 1958: 17-19, §§ 28; 30.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.*: § 30.

⁸¹⁷ Jurman 2006: 33. Macadam 1949: vol 1: 15 f.; 21, n. 51; vol. 2, pl. 8.

The question here is whether *hnw* denotes a specific topographical entity or whether it forms part of a bigger topographical unit. Kawa stele V, as well as stele IV dating to the 6th year of Taharqa's reign, presents Memphis as the place of Taharqa's coronation and as his principal residence where the king moved at the age of twenty.⁸¹⁸

The Memphite donation stele JE 38861 (C.I.6) refers to "every superintendent of works of his *hnw* and every craftsmen of His Majesty" who shall refurbish the ruined temple of Amun at Memphis. Meeks has suggested that the term *hnw* should be intended as the whole Memphis, where the residence of Taharqa was located according to several monuments which underline the connection of the king with Memphis.⁸¹⁹

In Taharqa's stele from the Dahshur Desert Road (C.I.8), the passage following the royal titles refers to the occasion of the commission of the stele itself, to be erected on the western side of the *hnw*:

2, 2-3) *wḏ ḥm.f smnt [wḏ] [ḥr] s3 ḥ3st ḥmṯt ḥr ḥmṯt nt ḥnw* His Majesty commissioned to set up [a stele] behind the (edge of the) western desert on the western side of the *hnw*

In the section recounting the virtues of the Kushite army during a twelve hour running crossing from the Memphite desert to the Faiyum and back, the word *hnw* and Memphis are used in different phrases as synonymous:

2,13) *pḥr.n.f ḥn'.sn ḥr s3 ḥ3st ḥnb-ḥd m wnwṯ Ṣḥtpns pḥ.sn [W3d]wr m wnwṯ wbn 'nn.sn r ḥnw m wnwṯ mkt-[nb] s* He went with them from the desert of Memphis in the 9th hour of the night. They reached the Great Green (the Faiyum) in the 1st hour of the day and returned to the *hnw* in the 3rd hour of the day

As rightly pointed out by Jurman,⁸²⁰ the cuneiform evidence of Esarhaddon who directed his second Egyptian campaign in 671 B.C. against Taharqa at his *āl šarrūtīšu Mempi*, "his residence city, Memphis" seems to confirm this interpretation.⁸²¹

The Saite royal inscriptions tend to be less explicit regarding the location of the royal residence than the Kushite counterparts.

⁸¹⁸ In Kawa stele V of Taharqa the king says: *šsp.n.ī ḥ'w m 'Inb-ḥd m-ḥt ḥry bīk r pt*, "I received the crown in Memphis, after the Falcon had ascended to the heaven". Macadam 1949: vol. I, 28; vol. II, pl. 10.

⁸¹⁹ Meeks 1987: 324, no. 8.

⁸²⁰ Jurman 2006: 39.

⁸²¹ Onasch 1994: vol. 1, 18, IV, 26; p. 24; vol. II, 2; 17.

The Serapeum Stele of Psamtek I (664-610 B.C.) (C.I.13) lists the provisions undertaken for the burial of the Apis bull among which there were coffins made of costly wood from foreign countries. One passage of the stele contains a reference to the rulers of these countries stating:

htr(w) b3kw.sn r hnw mī T3-mri

Their tributes were directed to the *hnw* as (if they had come from) Egypt

The text presents the *hnw* as place where the central tax administration for Egypt is located and any imported commodities are assessed.⁸²²

In the Tanis stele JE 67095 (C.I.9) dated to the 3th year of Psamtek II's reign (593 B.C.), the king dispatches his army with senior officials (*srw*) forth to subdue the rebel Nubian forces. The term *hnw* does occur in the stele in the passage where it is said that these officials reached the *hnw*, here apparently used in the sense of "capital":⁸²³

*l. 6) [h]m.f šm mš' r t3 š3s sryw hn'.f nt 'hnwty
spr pw īr.n.sn [...]r-[g?]-b3 hnw pw n kw3r nty īm
hn' dmi T3-dhn rn.sn*

His [M]ajesty sent the army to the land of š3s, the high officials being with him from the *'hnw*(ty). They reached [...]r-[g?]-b3 the *hnw* of the king being located there, along with the town by the name of *T3-dhn*

In the stelophorous statue of Bentehor (Louvre A 83 – C.II.27)⁸²⁴ the inscription relates the efforts undertaken by Necho II in the restoration of Theban buildings during his first regnal year. It locates the king's residence from where he decrees to refurbish ruined temples in the Saite nome, *m hnw Nīt*. The text suggests that Necho II resided in Sais during his first regnal year or wanted at least to present himself as a "Saite" king.⁸²⁵ What makes the stele interesting in this context is that it confirms the association of the term *hnw* with a place-name just observed in the official inscriptions.

3.6 "Palace"-words in epithets and private inscriptions

Although private monuments provide additional information to what gathered from royal inscriptions and literary texts, they pose their own limit when they questioned in regards to

⁸²² Jurman 2006: 53.

⁸²³ Der Manuelian 1994: 367; 370, no. 280 f. Jurman 2006: 55.

⁸²⁴ Yoyotte 1960: col. 368-370, fig. 609. Perdu 1986: 24-26, fig. 1.

⁸²⁵ Jurman 2006: 54.

the location of the “palace”, “residence” or “central administration” cited in the text.⁸²⁶ The epithets and titles refer to the role played by privates in a generic royal structure without specific geographical connotation.

The name of the 26th Dynasty officials is often preceded by a list of titles and epithets the most common one, *ḥtmw bīty, smr w'(ty)*, frequently encountered at the head of titling in combination with *īry-p't, ḥ3ty-*, seem to have lost in this period much of their significance and are commonly held to underline an affiliation of the owner with the court and the king. Pressl points out that, unlike during the New Kingdom, there is not an indication of hierarchically differentiated court offices in the 26th Dynasty.⁸²⁷ The most common designation, *ḥpr-ḥ*, seems not to mark a specific function in the courtly hierarchy; instead it should be regarded as a more general expression of royal trust to convey a rank or an honor to the title owner.⁸²⁸ On his naophorous statue in the Vatican, *Wd3-ḥr-r-sn-nt* is invested with the *ḥpr-ḥ* title directly by Cambyses,⁸²⁹ suggesting that, even if used as a general title, it could express the holder's right to get into direct contact with the king. *ḥ* remains the most common expression for “palace” in formulaic inscriptions and features prominently among the stock phrases of late Egyptian autobiographies.⁸³⁰

The title *s'rn(y) ḥt(w).sn r-ḥnw ḥ*, “one who introduces their goods inside the *ḥ*”, appears in two documents of the time, the BM EA 83 statue of *Pf-ḥ(w)-Nt's* (C.II.35) and the Statue of *P3f-t3w(-m)-ḥ(w)-Nt* from Mit-Rahinah (C.II.36).

According to some 21th and 22nd Dynasty autobiographical inscriptions, officials can be appointed as *īmy-īb n nswt m ḥ*, “Intimate of the king in the *ḥ*” by the king himself:

<i>īmy-īb n nswt m ḥ</i>	Intimate of the king in the <i>ḥ</i>	<i>Nb-ntrw</i> (Osorkon II - Harsiese A)	CG 42225; JE 37521; Karnak Cachette Nr. 347	C.II.3
<i>dhn wī r imy-īb m ḥ</i>	He [Amun] appointed me intimate of the <i>ḥ</i>	<i>Nb-ntrw</i> (Osorkon II - Harsiese A)	CG 42225; JE 37521; Karnak Cachette Nr. 347	C.II.3

A title connected with the *pr-nswt* which is known since Old Kingdom sources and continues to be used until the Late Period is *ḥry sšt3 n(i) pr-nswt*, despite word *pr-nswt* can

⁸²⁶ Jurman 2006: 90.

⁸²⁷ Pressl 1998: 28.

⁸²⁸ Helck 1986: col. 596. Lloyd 1983: 332.

⁸²⁹ Posener 1936: doc. 1.

⁸³⁰ Jansen-Winkel 1985: 317-319.

be sometimes replaced by *stp-s3* in the similar expression *rh sšt3 m stp-s3*, “one who knows the secrets in the *stp-s3*” in 21th and 22nd Dynasty epithets.

<i>hry sšt3 n(i) pr-nswt</i>	Keeper of secrets in the <i>pr-nswt</i>	<i>Psmtk</i> (Amasis)	Saqqara no ?	C.II.45
<i>rh sšt3 m stp-s3</i>	One who knows the secrets in the <i>stp-s3</i>	<i>Nht.f-Mwt</i> (Osorkon III - Takelot III)	CG 42211; JE 37159; Karnak Cachette Nr. 378	C.II.17
		<i>Hrw-s3-3st</i> (Takelot II)	Ramesseum	C.II.11

In the Saqqara stele Cairo SR 241 (C.I.12) mentioning the Libyan campaign in the 11th year of Psamtek I's reign, column 8 describes how the Pharaoh summons his armies to embark against the rebellious Libyan tribes. Among the listed personnel the title *tsw nb n mš' nb n hnw*, “every commander of every military unit of the *hnw*” implies that the *hnw* was associated with a military presence, as already suggested by the earlier inscription in the tomb of *Rh-mi-R'* (B.II.33).⁸³¹ Word *hnw* is rarely used in Late Period titles and epithets, with some exception such as the title of *Hk3-m-s3.f* in his tomb at Saqqara (C.II.50) *imy-r prwy hd nbw n(i) hnw*, “overseer of the treasuries of the *hnw*”, confirming the physical link of the *pr-nswt* to an administrative institution like the treasury, as already observed in narrative inscriptions.

3.7 Conclusions

The word ‘h continues to be used as the most common term for “palace” in generic expressions and titles of late Egyptian autobiographies.⁸³² In official inscriptions the term is found in connection with the appearing in glory (*h'i*) of the king and ceremonies involving offerings (*km3w*, *wdnw*) made by the king himself or common people in the ‘h. The term incorporates ceremonial connotations also in those contexts where it is associated with Ra or Horus “Lord of the ‘h”, as divine manifestation of the king.

⁸³¹ Jurman 2006: 51. The term *mš'* does not necessarily refer to a troop contingent in the scale of an army; see Wb II: 155, no. 13; 15.

⁸³² See also the epithets and titles among the stock phrases of the 22nd and the 23th Dynasty in Jansen-Wilckeln 1985: 317-19.

The term *pr-ʿ3* is quite definitely used as common designation for the king by the Late Period onwards. The effective transformation seems to be confirmed by the use of the word as apposition of the royal name already during the 22nd and definitely with the 26th Dynasty.

The term *pr-pr-ʿ3*⁸³³ becomes the normal expression for “palace” in demotic texts of the Late Period as well documented by the Instructions of *ʿnh-ššnky*. It does not show any specific connotation, so that it seems to indicate the palace in a generic sense, as the physical place where the king is.

The term *pr-nswt* appears to be rather rare in both official and private late Egyptian texts. When used it seems to be perceived as architectural entity comprehending the treasury and storage facilities, such as in the Piankhy stele and the Adoption stele of Nitocris. The *pr-nswt* seems to maintain its nature of administrative institution, used for the management of entries and exits of different kinds of facilities.

First millennium attestations of *hnw* show that the most common usage of the word was in the sense of “official residence”, the *hnw* being presented as place where the king would reside and govern for longer or shorter periods of time. In these cases the word is followed by the name of a city, as apposition of *hnw*, which can be identified from time to time with Memphis (named *Ḥwt-k3-Rʿ* in the rock stele of King Smendes near Gebelein – C.I.1, *hnw šw m sp tpy* in the Piankhy stele – C.I.5, or *ʿInb-ḥd* in the Kawa stele IV from Taharqa – C.I.7), Piramesse (called *pr st P3-k3-ʿ3-Rʿ-Ḥrw-3ḥty* in the Gebel el-Silsilah stele no. 100 – C.I.2) or Taudjoi/el Hibeh (qualified by the uncommon place-name of *T3-dhnt-nt-ʿImn-ʿ3-hmhmt* in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon – C.I.3).

While Memphis seems to have worked as a permanent residential city or *hnw* during the Libyan, Kushite and Saite rules, other *hnw* such as the residence-city of Piramesse cited in the Gebel el-Silsilah stele no. 100 (C.I.2) should have been used by king Sheshonq I for a certain period of time, being the passage in question a commemoration of local quarry work carried out for the king’s building project in Karnak.

⁸³³ The terms goes back to the 18th Dynasty. See paragraph above: § 2.4.

Private inscriptions such as the stelophorous statue of Bentehor (Louvre A 83 – C.II.35) confirms this usage of *hnw*, locating the residence of Necho II, from where the king decreed to refurbish ruined Theban temples, in the Saite nome: *m hnw Nî*. If the text is considered an “original” royal document,⁸³⁴ it may be asserted that Necho II resided at Sais during his first regnal year or wanted to underline the connection of his Dynasty with its prototypical residence.⁸³⁵

As it has been stressed above, the 26th Dynasty available written sources are generally not well suited for identifying the “palace” mentioned in them with the archaeological evidence. The problem in locating the royal residence in Late Period Egypt has been fully highlighted by Jurman, who has supposed a gradual shift of political power from Sais to Memphis, which becomes particularly tangible in the reign of Amasis.⁸³⁶ It is impossible to state with certainty whether the palatial site of Apries at Memphis was the main palace of the final period of the Dynasty or one of two major royal buildings built in the two cities of Sais and Memphis. Other palatial buildings could be built in sites that were geographically close to focal points of foreign policy (like Tell Defenneh, in the eastern Delta) and could have served as governorate palaces.

⁸³⁴ According to Perdu, although the text is part of a private monument, its phraseology and general layout suggested that it copied an official royal stele or was intended to emulate such a monument, in: Perdu 1986.

⁸³⁵ Jurman 2006: 54.

⁸³⁶ *Ibid.*: 116- 121

PART I. LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ROYAL PALACE

Chapter 4. Recognition of the 'h-palace in archaeological evidence.**4.1 Introduction**

Egyptian royal palaces have received comparatively slight attention by scholars in comparison with Egyptian temples, in large part because of archaeological reasons, being palaces – as any other civil buildings for earthly life - built in mud-brick, a material surviving much less well than the durable stone. Moreover, of the small number of excavated palaces, some remain largely unpublished. Middle Kingdom royal buildings in the sites of Tell Basta⁸³⁷ (PL. I) and Ezbet Rushdi⁸³⁸ (PL. III) offer the first evidence sufficiently preserved to allow an architectural analysis of the structures.⁸³⁹ However, nearly all the available archaeological record is confined to the New Kingdom, especially thanks to the knowledge of two cities became headquarters of administration and residence during the 18th Dynasty, Malkata (PL. XIII)⁸⁴⁰ the city-palace of Amenhotep III and Amarna (PL. XVII),⁸⁴¹ the capital of Amenhotep IV, which, extensively investigated, have revealed many palatial buildings and allowed the observation of their relationship with the topographical layout of the entire city. For the Late Period the well-preserved Saite palace of Apries at Memphis (PL. XXXV)⁸⁴² offers another important source for the analysis of Egyptian palaces.

Archaeologically known Egyptian royal palaces differ for extension, plan and internal organization,⁸⁴³ their planimetric variety suggesting several functional destinations. The

⁸³⁷ Farid 1964: 85-98. Bakr 1982: 153-67. Van Siclen 1996: 239-46, fig. 1.

⁸³⁸ Adam 1959: 207-26.

⁸³⁹ Another Middle Kingdom palace has been excavated at Tell el-Dab'a and dated back to the 13th Dynasty. Eigner 1985: 19 ff. Eigner 1996: 73 ff.

⁸⁴⁰ Daressy 1903: 165-70. Tytus 1903. Winlock 1912: 184-9. White 1915: 253-256. Hayes 1951: 35-56. Smith 1998: 281-5. Kemp – O'Connor 1974: 101-36.

⁸⁴¹ For the first publication of the Central City palaces see: Pendlebury 1951. The North Palace has been published in preliminary reports: Newton 1924: 294 ff; Whittemore 1926: 3 ff.; Spence 1999: 14 ff. Frankfort 1929: 58-71. Plans of the North Riverside Palace can be found in Kemp 1989: fig. 91; Lacovara 1997: fig. 27. For an overview of palatial architecture see: Badawy 1954-68, III: 29-55.; 82-92; Lacovara 1997 and Spence 2009: 165 ff.

⁸⁴² Kemp 1977a: 101 ff. Petrie 1909.

⁸⁴³ Arnold 1982: 367-8. Badawy 1968: 35-55.

analysis of these architectural differences let recognize similar features recurring in palaces with the same function. As a result, palaces have been reconnected to *residential*, *ceremonial*, *administrative* and *defensive* classifications by Egyptological literature.⁸⁴⁴ By comparing the plans of New Kingdom palaces, O'Connor has divided them into "governmental" and "ceremonial" examples. Particularly he has suggested that the palace of Malkata (PL. XIV) would be the sole surviving example of a residential palace, while the Palace of Merenptah (PL. XXVII), the North Harim within the Great Palace at Amarna (PL. XXIII) and the North Palace (PL. XVIII) in the same site would have worked as "ceremonial palaces".⁸⁴⁵ The "administrative palace" typology is recognized by the author in the presumed 18th Dynasty palace near the temple of Karnak, also termed "governmental palace" or "Regierungspalast".⁸⁴⁶ The King's House at Amarna is inserted in this group and considered a replica of the governmental palace at Karnak.⁸⁴⁷ A particular type of ceremonial or "symbolic"⁸⁴⁸ palace is the so-called "temple-palace" attached to the Mortuary Temples of the 19th and 20th Dynasty (PLS. XXIX-XXXIII), all characterized by a façade dominated by a centrally placed "Window of Appearance".⁸⁴⁹ Using O'Connor's nomenclature, Lacovara comes to classify differently "ceremonial" and "residential" palaces.⁸⁵⁰ Particularly he sees the King's House as the private residence of the king rather than as a "governmental palace" in O'Connor's definition. Considering the development and evolution of the "residential palace", Lacovara⁸⁵¹ has identified certain affinities with the New Kingdom royal residential palaces⁸⁵² in few surviving palaces dating from the

⁸⁴⁴ Helck 1954. O'Connor 1989: 73 ff. O'Connor 1991: 167-197. Lacovara 1977. The identification of function of each royal palace that has been archeologically investigated varies from an author to another, so that the same building has been recognized as "residential" or "ceremonial" by Egyptological literature.

⁸⁴⁵ O'Connor 1991: 167-90. The author has analyzed several architectural features that could be considered indicative of a specific type of "palace".

⁸⁴⁶ O'Connor 1995: 270-4.

⁸⁴⁷ Particularly he defines the palace of Merenptah as a "non residential-ceremonial palace", in O'Connor 1997: 178.

⁸⁴⁸ Lacovara 1977: 36. These buildings are termed "funerary palaces" in O'Connor's classification of palace typologies: O'Connor 1995: 279-81, 287-9.

⁸⁴⁹ Stadelmann 1973: 221 ff.

⁸⁵⁰ Lacovara 1997: 24-41.

⁸⁵¹ Lacovara has tried to demonstrate that ancient Egyptian palaces would subscribe to a basic architectural formula based on both planimetric and decorative recurrent elements, in Lacovara 1997: 35-36.

⁸⁵² Apart from the palace of Makata, the "residential" function has been supposed by Lacovara for the Great Palace and the King's House at Amarna. Lacovara 1977: 30. Kemp has suggested that it was the North Riverside Palace to serve as the main residential quarter of the city of Amarna, while the Great Palace in the Central City served as official or ceremonial palace. Kemp's interpretation of the Amarna palaces is based on a visible distinction between the residential and the governmental or ceremonial area, the second one he was expected to carry out in the Central City. While the king and

Middle Kingdom at Ezbet Rushdi (PL. II),⁸⁵³ Tell Basta (PL. I)⁸⁵⁴ and Tell el-Dab'a (PL. VII).⁸⁵⁵ To the classification of the "harim" palaces he recollects palatial structures that "do not conform with the layout of the king's house, whether residential, as at Malkata, ceremonial, as in the Merenptah palace at Memphis, or symbolic, as in the temple palaces".⁸⁵⁶ According to Lacovara, the clearest examples for this kind of palaces would be the palace at Gurob (PL. XII)⁸⁵⁷ and the North Palace at Malkata (PL. XIII).⁸⁵⁸ A defensive function has been suggested for those buildings erected on platforms, such as the palace built near Ballas at the end of the 17th Dynasty by the Upper Egyptian rivals of the Hyksos (PL. III-IV).⁸⁵⁹ Three New Kingdom palaces were erected on the top of mud brick platforms, more than 7 m high, accessible by ramps at Tell el-Dab'a.⁸⁶⁰ This type of palace was resumed during the 26th Dynasty in the palace of Apries at Memphis.⁸⁶¹ Even if reasonable, the distinction of the different functions of the royal palaces on the basis of the occurrence of architectural features cannot be understood so rigidly separated. Assuming the multifunctional nature of the ancient Egyptian royal palace, it is rather difficult to understand how the different functions, whether "ceremonial", "residential" or "administrative", might have been actually combined in the same building "or even whether there was a clear cut-architectural distinction between the three".⁸⁶² Despite each of the individual known palaces seems predominantly to belong to one or the other of the types just listed, a juxtaposition of more sections with different functions was possible in a same building. As I would exemplified, the Great Palace in the Central City of Amarna consisted of several parts: a large ceremonial palace built around a great hall and,

the royal family would have lived in the North Riverside Palace (the royal residence) and the North Palace (the Queen's residence), they would have descended in the King's House (the centre of the state business) and the Great Palace (the location of state-receptions) to perform state and ceremonial activities: Kemp 1976a: 96; Kemp 1991: 276 ff.

⁸⁵³ Adam 1959: 207-26.

⁸⁵⁴ Farid 1964: 85 ff. Bakr 1959: 153 ff.

⁸⁵⁵ Eigner 1985: 19 ff.

⁸⁵⁶ Lacovara 1997: 36. The ceremonial nature of the Great Palace at Amarna is suggested by its similarity with religious architecture in both the architectural plan and the terminology used to define it in the Boundary Stelae of Tell el-Amarna. See Assmann's and Uphill's debate over the nature of the so-called Great Palace at Amarna: Uphill 1970: 151-66. Assmann 1972: 143-55. Murnane – Van Siclen 1993.

⁸⁵⁷ Kemp 1978b: 122 ff.

⁸⁵⁸ Lacovara 1997: 37. The basic format, as that described by the author, would consist of a pair of long rectangular buildings grouped along one side of a large enclosure.

⁸⁵⁹ Lacovara once refers to the northern mudbrick platform at Deir el-Ballas as a "campaign palace", in Lacovara 1997: 24

⁸⁶⁰ Bietak 2010: 22.

⁸⁶¹ Kemp 1977b: 101. Petrie 1909.

⁸⁶² Spence 2009: 167.

connected to it, sectors with administrative and residential functions.⁸⁶³ The same pattern has been observed even in the earlier example of the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata.

Focusing on the architectural features of the so-called “ceremonial palaces” or the “ceremonial sections” within multifunctional palatial structures, they were laid out in a strongly rectangular form, a tripartite plan recalling the shape of the temple, with the succession of a court, a hypostyle hall and the throne-room corresponding to the sanctuary.⁸⁶⁴

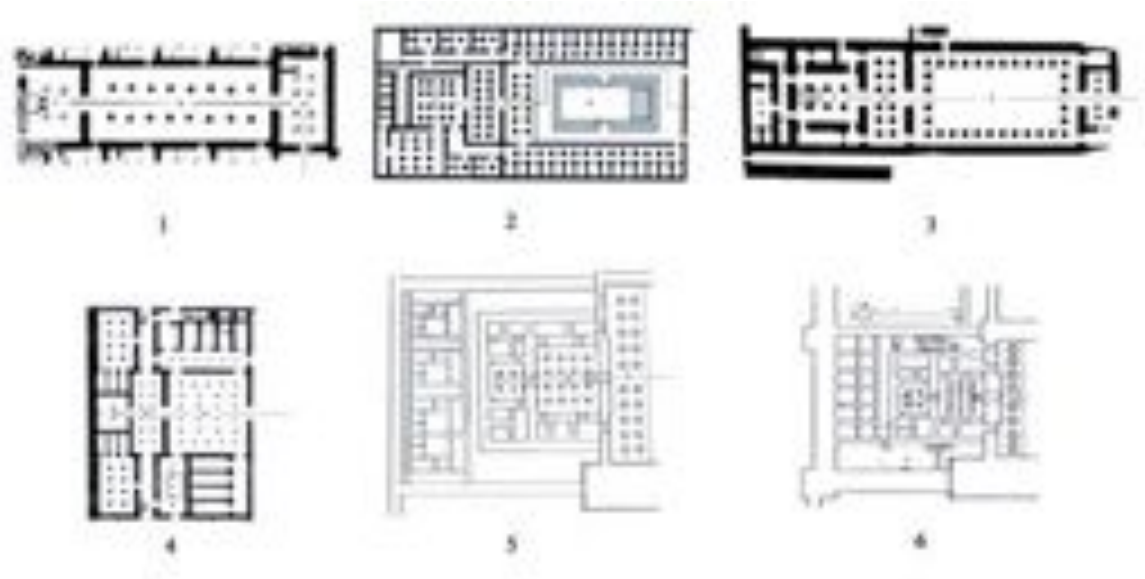


Figure 2. The tripartite and axial plan of the “ceremonial palace”.

- 1) The King’s House of Amenhotep III at Malkata.**
- 2) The Northern Harim within the Great Palace at Amarna.**
- 3) The palace of Merenptah at Memphis.**
- 4) Audience system in the North Palace at Amarna.**
- 5) Palace of Rameses II in the Ramesseum at Thebes West.**
- 6) First Palace of Rameses III at Medinet Habu at Thebes West.**

In O’Connor’s opinion⁸⁶⁵ this planimetric scheme would have been perfectly exemplified in Merenptah’s Palace at Memphis⁸⁶⁶, whose “ceremonial” usage can be supposed also for its physical connection to the great temple of Ptah.⁸⁶⁷ The same strongly rectangular form can be observed in the “core” of the “North Palace”⁸⁶⁸ at Amarna (PL. XVIII) and the so-called

⁸⁶³ Lacovara 1977: 31.

⁸⁶⁴ O’Connor 1991: 170-172.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*: 179.

⁸⁶⁶ Fisher 1917: 211-237. Fisher 1921: 30-34. Fisher 1924: 93-100.

⁸⁶⁷ Stadelmann 1973: 235.

⁸⁶⁸ Newton 1924: 289 ff.

“North-Harim”⁸⁶⁹ in the Great Palace of the same site (PL. XXII). The “North Harim” and the Merenptah’s palace are also very similar to the harim section of the Palace of Malkata.⁸⁷⁰ The basic plan and the arrangement of all these palaces is strongly reminiscent of the mortuary temple palaces, whereas these latter tend to form square blocks facing the square courts of the mortuary temples.

In functional terms, the ceremonial palace would have worked as place in which the king underwent highly ritualised ceremonies connected with his kingship, such as the coronation and the enthronement of the king, officials’ promotion, reception of foreign princes and envoys, the worship of the divine image (in the so-called “Temple-palace”) and the celebration of the *Hb-sd*.

4.2 Architectural features of the “ceremonial palace”

a) Merenptah’s palace (PL XXVII) is a key source for the analysis of New Kingdom palaces because of its unique state of preservation.⁸⁷¹ It was accessible from a ramp leading from an open area to a vestibule room facing a large stone-paved court, surrounded by a low platform sustaining a colonnade. A ramp at the centre of the southern short side of the rectangular hall led to a vestibule preceding the rectangular throne room with the throne dais attached to the rear wall. The complex of small rooms at the back of the throne room was probably used as residential area by the king. Its large scale and its emphasis upon courts and halls clearly intended for ceremonial use evoke the ceremonial nature of this palace.⁸⁷² The entire 110.30 X 30 meters building is in fact comparable in scale to the impressive mortuary temples of Rameses II and III at Thebes.⁸⁷³ Regarding the interior of the palace, columns and doorframes were decorated with scenes of the king smiting foreign enemies and making offerings to Ptah.⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁶⁹ Pendlebury 1951: 38 ff., pls. 13°, 14.

⁸⁷⁰ Smith 1981: 283-6.

⁸⁷¹ The palace was destroyed by fire “not many years” after Merenptah’s death and many architectural elements such as columns and doorways have survived, in Fisher 1917: 227.

⁸⁷² O’Connor 1991: 178.

⁸⁷³ O’Connor 1991: 178.

⁸⁷⁴ Fisher 1921: 222-25.

b) In the “North Palace” at Amarna⁸⁷⁵ (PL XVIII), beyond a first court (not attested at Memphis, where Merenptah’s palace has only one entrance-court), a highly pylon-like feature, comparable to the façade of Merenptah’s palace, brings to an inner court containing a large pool (instead of the colonnade of the Merenptah’s court). After the first court, we can recognize the tripartite plan of the audience-device with a square vestibule, followed by a hall east-west oriented, and a throne room at the end. A royal suite lays south of the square vestibule. Differently from the Merenptah’s palace, the “North Palace” at Amarna was flanked by areas of worship, animal quarters⁸⁷⁶ and non royal residential and/or office units and by an aviary and banqueting hall in the rear section: this complexity makes the functional interpretation of the “North Palace” properly unclear.

c) The “North Harim” at Amarna (PL XXII) and Merenptah’s Palace at Memphis are similar in scale and plan and, while not properly identical, show some striking similarities.⁸⁷⁷ Due to the poor status of preservation of the structure, the actual access-system to the palace is unclear. Pendlebury supposed that the entrance should be located on the south side, in order to provide a link with the route which connected the “Great Palace” with the “King’s House” of the site via a bridge.⁸⁷⁸ Another possibility is that a second entrance was located on the north side,⁸⁷⁹ such as at Memphis. The extant remains at the northern end of the palace might even be interpreted as casemate walls intended to support an elevated façade, reminiscent of that in Merenptah’s palace.⁸⁸⁰ Immediately south to the hypothetical entrance lies a succession of two halls with square piers and a small court which does not have any parallel in the Memphite palace. This compound is succeeded by a court flanked by colonnades on three sides which parallels the Memphis court, although the “North Harim” court have also storerooms on each long sides and is occupied by a sunken area in the centre supplied with flanking gardens, a pool at the north end and a well at the south end. These peculiar features are not found at Memphis where, however, the court seems to have been slightly sunken and paved with stone, the floor sloping down to a shallow depression running along the central axis.⁸⁸¹ The court of the “North Harim” is followed by a columned vestibule, oriented east-west, and by a multi-columned hall; east of

⁸⁷⁵ The North Palace at Amarna has been published in brief preliminary reports, in Newton 1924: 289-98. Whittemore 1926: 3 ff. Frankfort 1928: 58-71. Spence 1999: 14 ff.

⁸⁷⁶ Newton 1924: Pl. XXX, 1-2-3.

⁸⁷⁷ Uphill 1970: 155. O’Connor 1991: 180.

⁸⁷⁸ Pendlebury 1951: 38.

⁸⁷⁹ O’Connor 1991: 180.

⁸⁸⁰ Pendlebury 1951: pl. 13A.

⁸⁸¹ O’Connor 1991: 180.

the last hall is another pillared room, probably used as throne hall, leading southwards to a cluster of rooms that might be the remains of a royal suite. The “North Harim” and Merenptah’s palaces are also similar in context, each one lying within a large enclosure; the walled area occupies roughly the same or very similar amount of space in both instances.⁸⁸² It has suggested that the “North Harim”, and the “Great Palace” including it, might have been intended for royal ceremonies. Especially Assmann has suggested that they might have been used during the celebration of the *Sed*-festival,⁸⁸³ while Kemp has raised the possibility that the Great Palace was used for semi-public ceremonies and the “reception of a foreign prince or envoy”.⁸⁸⁴ The Amarna “Great Palace” and the Merenptah’s “Great Palace” are also similar in being located near the enclosure of a great temple and both facing the processional axis to the respective temple, the temple of Aten at Amarna⁸⁸⁵ and that of Ptah at Memphis.⁸⁸⁶ This conjunction seems to emphasize the ceremonial function of these two great palaces.⁸⁸⁷

d) The same articulation of the inner spaces can be recognized in the central section of the King’s Palace at Malkata (PL XIV), generally labeled by Egyptologist as “Royal Harim”.⁸⁸⁸ It is possible to identify in it the tripartite succession of a transversal columned hall (which can be paralleled to the antechamber of the Memphite palace), a rectangular columned court (recalling the central halls of Merenptah’s palace, the “North Palace” and the “North Harim” at Amarna – although differently flanked by lateral suites), and the throne room at the bottom. At the southern and northern sides of this complex were located series of courts, many with a raised dais opposite to the entrance.

e) A ceremonial function has been suggested by Bietak even for one of the buildings of the Thutmosid palatial complex of Tell el-Dab’a (PL. VII), the so-called Palace F (PL VIII).⁸⁸⁹ The reconstruction of the superstructure has been suggested on the basis of the disposition and the shape of the walls of the foundation platform. The palace would have been composed by a central square courtyard, surrounded by columns or pillars on all four sides; the side rooms could be interpreted as part of the throne room-complex, composed by the throne room itself and flanking spaces, probably used as dressing or washing rooms. The

⁸⁸² O’Connor 1991: 180.

⁸⁸³ Assmann 1972: 150.

⁸⁸⁴ Kemp 1976a: 99.

⁸⁸⁵ Pendlebury 1951: pl. 1.

⁸⁸⁶ Jeffreys 1985: pl. 63.

⁸⁸⁷ O’Connor 1991: 181.

⁸⁸⁸ Smith 1998: 166.

⁸⁸⁹ Bietak 2010: 22.

ceremonial function of this structure seems suggested by the fact that there was no place for private apartments. A ceremonial section can be recognized also in the eastern hall of the palace G at Tell el-Dab'a (PL. IX), where the array of rooms corresponds to the tripartite plan of a New Kingdom temple, composed by a first big square colonnade courtyard and a transversal hall leading to a hall with four rows of columns occupying the left half, identified as the throne room.⁸⁹⁰ Behind those ceremonial rooms there were the private apartments of the king.

f) The features of the royal palace with ceremonial function as exemplified in the Merenptah's Palace and the palace of Malkata can be recognized as the essential aspects of the temple-palaces within the 19th and 20th Dynasty mortuary temples of Sety I (PL. XXIX),⁸⁹¹ Rameses II (PL. XXX),⁸⁹² Merenptah (PL. XXXI),⁸⁹³ and Rameses III at Medinet Habu (PLS. XXXII-XXXIII).⁸⁹⁴ The palace at Medinet Habu is one of the best preserved and most completely published of all these structures. The Medinet Habu palace undergone two different phases of construction, the first one having been completely razed before the construction of the second one.⁸⁹⁵ The plan of the first palace (PL. XXXII) consisted of a central columned court, entered through two flanking vestibules, and the Window of Appearance opening into the south wall of the first court of the mortuary temple. At the south of the great court there was a throne room with a raised dais against its back wall. The throne room led to a bedroom in the southwest corner, flanked by vestibules and storerooms. Within the thick enclosure wall, to the south of the central block of the rooms of the palace, was a series of harim-suites. The initial plan of the temple-palace of Rameses III is - in a much-reduced form - remarkably similar to the layout of the palace of Merenptah and the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata.⁸⁹⁶ The axial circulation system is altered by the presence of the Window of Appearance that does not allow a direct transition from the court of the mortuary temple to the central columned hall of the palace.

Particularly Dorothea Arnold has recently considered a theory about the palatial complex at Malkata, the central section of this palace being dedicated to the celebration of the *Hb-*

⁸⁹⁰ Bietak 2010: 22.

⁸⁹¹ *Ibid.*: 232-33, fig. 3.

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*: 233-36, fig. 4.

⁸⁹³ Stadelmann 1973: 233-35, fig. 5.

⁸⁹⁴ Hölscher 1941: 37-59.

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid.*: 44-51.

⁸⁹⁶ Lacovara 2009: 99.

sd.⁸⁹⁷ The central part of the so called King's Palace of Amenhotep III has been immediately identified as occupied largely by "suites of rooms for the chief ladies of the harim"⁸⁹⁸ and associated with a throne and residential suite for the king himself. Dorothea Arnold has challenged this reading stating that the "harim suites" were actually ritual spaces used by the king himself, for whom a throne dais was provided in the central largest room of each suite.⁸⁹⁹ She also makes a comparison of the King's House's plan with that of the supposed *Hb-sd* complex at the step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara. In both cases she suggests that "a central north-south oriented space, an open court at Saqqara and a columned hall at Malkata, is flanked on both long sides by separate compartments". At the south end is the king's throne, behind which are located a number of private apartments ("the king's bedchamber suite") which would correspond to the so-called "temple T" of Saqqara complex. To the north of these arrangements at Saqqara are other "courts and halls", equivalent to the similarly located throne-halls of the King's Palace at Malkata.⁹⁰⁰ Arnold has also suggested that the surviving wall and ceiling paintings from the "harim suites" and the hall they flank refer to "the dominant role of the king in his capacity as pharaoh and ruler, not as a pleasure seeking potentate".⁹⁰¹ Where designs on wall plaster have been found in the colonnade and the cubicles of the Garden Court, they show false-door dado panels and grapes or other produces on stands.⁹⁰² Bowls, vases and pot-stands painted on the walls of the cubicles were probably the same containers to be used on ceremonial occasions in the palace and suggest the interpretation of these spaces as small storerooms. This reading has been recently discussed by O' Connor in favor of the interpretation of the central section of the King's Palace at Malkata as a harim complex.⁹⁰³

One of the most important sources for the interpretation of the Egyptian royal harim is the East High Gate⁹⁰⁴ in the mortuary temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu. The scenes surviving from this complex focus almost entirely upon intimate relationships between the king and groups of young women, so that the rooms themselves seem to refer to the harim component of such architecture.⁹⁰⁵ As regards to its architectural shape, this monument

⁸⁹⁷ Arnold 2002: 271-298.

⁸⁹⁸ Smith 1998: ch. 15.

⁸⁹⁹ Arnold 2002: 290.

⁹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*: 290-1.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*: 289.

⁹⁰² Wheatheread 2007: 3-10, figs. 5, 7, 8.

⁹⁰³ O'Connor 2010: 56-80.

⁹⁰⁴ Hölscher 1951: 6-11. Haeny 1967: 71 ff. Cavillier 2008.

⁹⁰⁵ O'Connor 2010: 64.

resembles the massively fortified gate of a fortress incorporating a tower recalling a *migdol* structure.⁹⁰⁶ It consisted of a series of rooms distributed over two stores and facing the central gate, which worked as a kind of patio. O'Connor has recently considered the analogies between the East High Gate and the harim component of the King's Palace at Malkata as follows: "First, the open-air roadway leading to the gateway proper corresponds in location and proportions to the long hall of the Malkata harim component. (..) Rooms 2 and 5 (two superimposed rooms at the end of the roadway) are equivalent to the throne room at the south-end of the long hall at Malkata, i.e. each is conceptually a throne-room. (..) Pursuing the analogy further requires we consider the other rooms of the second story (all in proximity of room 2), on the third (throughout the entire story) and on the patio as approximately equivalent to the eight harim suites at the Malkata King's Palace".⁹⁰⁷ After having recognized these similarities, O'Connor has rightly stressed the major differences between the two complexes: "the rooms at the Gate are not laid out so as to resemble the suites at Malkata. (..) At Malkata each suite is a separate unit, linked only to the long hall; this was architecturally impossible at the Gate, if the long hall is considered equivalent to the roadway, although most of the Gate's rooms are connected to the roadway, but necessarily through windows, not doorways".⁹⁰⁸ These diversities and the different conception that moved the construction of these two buildings must be adequately highlighted. While taking the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu as a potential model of the harim-architecture, the archaeologically known New Kingdom harim sections within the palaces at Malkata and Amarna do not appear to be multistoried or articulated around a central patio. The architectural analysis presented above allows to identify similarities among palaces with the same function. Comparison between the King's House at Malkata and Rameses III's Mortuary Complex shows that the so-called harim at Malkata resembles the temple-palace at Medinet Habu more than the East High Gate of the same complex. As the harim at Malkata, the temple-palace at Medinet Habu shows a tripartite plan with the succession of a first court, a central colonnade hall and the throne room, although compressed into a square smaller building (PL. XXXII). The side rooms, which would correspond to the harim-suites of the Malkata complex, are reduced on a small scale, because they were not intended for residential function, considering the ritual nature of

⁹⁰⁶ Cavillier 2008.

⁹⁰⁷ O'Connor 2010: 64-5.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*: 66.

this building.⁹⁰⁹ Even the surviving decoration program of the harim section of the King's House at Malkata completely differs from the Eastern Gate at Medinet Habu. At Malkata the vegetal theme of rosettes, alternating the geometrical scheme of spirals, decorated the ceiling of the small rooms alongside the large hypostyle hall of the so-called Harim (PL. XVI).⁹¹⁰ The theme of subjection of the enemy was probably represented at the end of the hypostyle hall in the proximity of the audience system at its north side: fragments of a wall painting representing the seated king flanked by figures of prisoners have been found at the end of the great hypostyle hall, on one of the wall flanking the entrance to the following throne-room F (= no. 2).⁹¹¹ In the King's bedchamber, details of mural paintings show a panel of false-door blocks set between alternating 'nh and s3 signs (PL. XV, a-b). This panel was surmounted by paired figures of god Bes.⁹¹² The reconstruction of the ceiling decoration of the hypostyle hall H (= no. 4) shows a row of repeated winged goddess Nekhbet in the middle between two scroll pattern panels (PL. XV, c).⁹¹³ This hall had a painted pavement with a pond and marsh scene, similar to that found in the small audience hall E (= no. 3) consisting of a pool with swimming ducks and fishes surrounded by a border of papyrus with flying birds. A dado of painted panels ran around the walls of the central hall H (= no. 4) and an image of the king seated on his throne was painted on the southern wall.⁹¹⁴ Similar topics, although differently distributed, decorated the walls of the "North Harim" at Tell el-Amarna. As well as at Malkata, no depiction of women has been found in the rooms flanking the central colonnade hall.⁹¹⁵ Representations of wine jars and pots on stands on the outer walls of the cubicles in the Garden court of the Northern Harim implies that the cubicles were used for storage of produces to be used on specific occasions such as banquets or delivery of gifts and tributes (PL. XXVI, b-c).⁹¹⁶ The finding of shelves with cavetto cornices modeled in mud plaster in some of the rooms at the back of

⁹⁰⁹ Since its discovery the temple-palace at Medinet Habu was regarded as a temporary residential quarter occasionally used by the king when he came to Thebes to participate in religious feasts, in Hölscher 1941: 58-61. However, its too small dimension and its architectural design reveal that it could never have served for living, in Stadelmann 1994: 311.

⁹¹⁰ Nishimoto 1992: 69 ff.

⁹¹¹ Smith 1998: 168. The small "audience hall" at the north-east side of the throne room had steps of the throne base decorated again with bound prisoners and representations of the nine bows. Lacovara 2009: 88.

⁹¹² Nishimoto 1991.

⁹¹³ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁴ Tytus 1903: 17-8.

⁹¹⁵ Room "D" at the north-east side of the complex appears to have had a wall painting of "dancing girls" above a dado consisting of panels of "false-door" blocks set between alternating 'nh and s3 signs with an undulating line at its base, in Lacovara 2009: 88.

⁹¹⁶ Weatherhead 2007: 28.

the “harim suites” supports this interpretation.⁹¹⁷ A similar fragment of wall decoration representing jars in stands has been found in the throne room of the North Palace at Amarna (PL. XXI, c),⁹¹⁸ suggesting that it was a theme suited to audience complexes. The motif of offering stands alternating with groups of kneeling foreigners decorated the dais of the throne room of the King’s House at Amarna.⁹¹⁹ No decoration was reported from the throne room beyond the central hall H of the Northern Harim. The pond and duck-and-marshes motifs in the palace at Malkata⁹²⁰ have similarities with the waterside scenes depicted on the walls of the North Palace at Amarna (PLS. XX-XXI)⁹²¹ and in the cross hall before the throne room in the palace of Merenptah at Memphis.⁹²² In the North Palace at Amarna the theme of plants and animals, both terrestrial and aquatic, is predominant and almost exclusive and is richly expressed on the walls of the Green Room, one of the cells to the north east of the central garden (PL. XIX).⁹²³ The same theme can be found in the sector of the cattle/gazelle stables and the King’s Apartments, the ceiling and the walls being decorated with screw motif and bunches of grapes.⁹²⁴ The floors of the Throne Room complex of the so-called Harim within the Great Palace at Amarna showed ponds bordered by ducks and marsh plants with outer borders composed of bouquets and offerings or unguent cones on stands (PL XXV).⁹²⁵ The pathway of bound captives leading south across the Main Hall of Northern Harim at Amarna clearly represented the king’s dominion over foreign lands and it has been suggested that it ended with a throne dais (PL. XXIV).⁹²⁶ The decoration of the throne of the small side throne room E (= no. 2) for audiences in the north-eastern corner of the palace at Malkata with figures of Nubian and Syrian prisoners, separated by arches, recalls the same theme (PL. XXV, b-c).⁹²⁷ Twenty-four limestone blocks with representation of enemies and arches within a complex frame with disks and floral panels, surrounded by a composition of birds with outstretched wings, formed the top of

⁹¹⁷ Lacovara 2009: 88.

⁹¹⁸ Frankfort 1929: pl. XIIE. Whetheread 2007: 197-8, fig. 110.

⁹¹⁹ Whetheread 2007: 80-2.

⁹²⁰ Tytus 1903: 16-17, pl. 1, figs. 8-9. Daressy 1903: 165-6.

⁹²¹ Weatherhead 2007: 145 ff.

⁹²² Fisher 1917: 216.

⁹²³ Wheatheread 2007: 157 ff.

⁹²⁴ *Ibid.*: 145.

⁹²⁵ During excavations at the Great Palace at Amarna, three large floor-paintings were found in the area known as the North Harim. They were connected by a painted pathway of captives. Study of the painted pavements, together with plans of the Great Palace and other New Kingdom palaces, suggests that the room called the Main Hall may have been a throne room: Weatherhead 1992: 179 ff.

⁹²⁶ Tytus 1903: 16-17

⁹²⁷ Daressy 1903: 166, pl. 4.

the dais of the palace of Merenptah at Memphis (Pl. XXVIII).⁹²⁸ The columns of the throne room were decorated partly with scenes of the king slaying enemies and partly with representation of him making offering to Ptah.⁹²⁹ Even the sides of the dais of the palace of Rameses II at Qantir should have been decorated with tiles representing captives.⁹³⁰ Four fragments of stone slabs belonging to the base of a throne had been reused in the steps of the Window of Appearance of the first palace at Medinet Habu (Pl. XXIV, b-d).⁹³¹ The walls of the throne room of the palace of Merenptah at Memphis would have been decorated with a dado of alternating blocks and amuletic signs, *’nh* and *w3s*-sceptres along with papyrus and lotus plants, while the ceiling was painted blues with a pattern of yellow and gold stars.⁹³²

According to the collected data, the architectural layout of the harim component at Malkata as well as its decorative system is strictly similar to the North Harim within the Great Palace and the eastern end of the North Palace at Amarna, the palace of Merenptah at Memphis and the first palace of Rameses III at Medinet Habu.

Before turning to the attempt to recognize the *ceremonial palace* in texts, another set of art-historical evidence relevant to the interpretation of the harim components at Amarna and Malkata needs to be briefly reviewed. The tomb-chapels of officials at Tell el-Amarna include in their decorative program representations of palaces in a typical mix of plan and elevation.⁹³³ Some versions of the generic palace depicted include components that suggest they might represent or relate to the harim components at the King’s Palace at Malkata and the Great Palace at Amarna. The representations most commonly mentioned in relation to the harim component are those from the tomb-chapel of *Tw-tw*.⁹³⁴ In one of the two main scenes of the royal palace, a chamber filled with the depiction of a pool, flanked by papyrus and other vegetation, is located immediately adjacent to the royal suite.⁹³⁵ O’Connor has suggested that “the depiction is of a hall with a floor painted with these motifs, as is actually the case with the long hall in the harim component of the King’s

⁹²⁸ Jeffrey – Malek – Smith 1986: 10-11.

⁹²⁹ The decoration of the palace of Merenptah at Memphis, despite well preserved, has not been fully documented. An account published by C. S. Fisher describes the decoration of the throne room of the building, in Fisher 1917: 222-25.

⁹³⁰ Hayes 1937: 13, fig. 1.

⁹³¹ Hölscher 1941: fig. 30.

⁹³² Fisher 1921: 222-25.

⁹³³ For a recent and exhaustive analysis of palatial representations at Amarna see Vomeberg’s work: Vomberg 2004.

⁹³⁴ Smith 1998: 162, 166. O’Connor 2010: 70.

⁹³⁵ Davies 1903-8, 6: pl 17, 19.

Palace at Malkata".⁹³⁶ Indeed in *Tw-tw*'s representation the rooms occupied solely by women in the depiction of the royal suite are not physically adjacent to the depicted garden or hall. In the tomb of *Mri-R*⁹³⁷ a similar feature, a garden or a depicted garden is placed in the middle between two completely identical sectors. Each of these areas consists of a corridor with a row of trees in the centre, at the right and left sides of which there is a portico. A long, narrow room that serves as storeroom is located behind each column of the portico. The cells behind the colonnade flanking the two long sides of the central sunken garden of the Northern Harim are laid out in a formal mode similar to this representation. Rows of storerooms are arranged on both sides of a central courtyard with a central pool or platform even in the Southern Harim. The re-interpretation of the harim component at the northeast corner of the North Palace at Amarna as storage-area seems to be supported by this representation. In this architectural plan, the depicted structures resemble the Malkata harim suites with a large central colonnade hall (with a distinctive type of water and garden motifs decoration on its floor) flanked by two rows of small rooms at each long side. Gardens and pools (both actual gardens and those represented in painting) would seem to be specific components of a number of storage areas in Amarna representations of the royal palace. I would raise the possibility that the peculiar morphology of these storage areas would be due to their particular usage that goes beyond the simple storage function. The use of these storerooms can be related to the official ceremonies that may have occurred in buildings that comprise them, the so-called North Harim within the Great Palace and the North Palace at Amarna and the Harim in the King's House at Malkata.

4.3 Identification of the "ceremonial palace" in written sources

Despite the extensive pictorial and inscriptional evidence about this ceremony, the fragmentary status of the documentation does not allow a sufficiently comprehensive picture of the nature and the celebration of the *Hb-sd*.⁹³⁸ However, reliefs and inscriptions in tombs and temples, obelisks, ostraca, statues, individual blocks of stone and so on from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period⁹³⁹ allow to reconstruct part of the program of the event

⁹³⁶ O'Connor 2010: 70.

⁹³⁷ Davies 1903-8, 1: pl. 30.

⁹³⁸ For a description of the *Sed*-festival see Moret 1902: 235 ff. Frankfort 1948: ch. 6.

⁹³⁹ The origins of the *Sed*-festival are lost, despite it is likely that it was celebrated from the Predynastic times. Evidences of the festival from the Early Dynastic Period consist almost entirely in

its name recorded on dockets and jars of the 1st and 2nd Dynasty from Hierakonpolis and Saqqara. Other possible materials can be statues of the first kings with the traditional *Sed*-festival robe or representations of the double crown. For a recent and complete list of the kings who celebrated *Sed*-festivals, with the supporting evidence, see Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 16-25. One of the first architectural evidence of the celebration of such ceremony is found in the 3rd Dynasty. This is the Step Pyramid complex of Djoser at Saqqara, which seems to have included architectural elements, such as shrines and courts, which were used during the *Sed*-festival. The eastern section of the complex has been interpreted as *Hb-sd* court, with its double rows of shrines, one for the deities of Upper Egypt and the other for deities of Lower Egypt (Firth – Quibell 1936, I: 10 ff; 67 ff.). In the large open-court in front of the Step Pyramid are the remains of the B-shaped structures which were probably used to mark the extremes of the course (Firth – Quibell 1936, I: 70, II: 72). A lion-headed bas has been found in the entrance colonnade and resembles the throne depicted in several representations of the *Sed*-festival (von Bissing – Kees 1923: pl. 23). From the same area a number of other evidences seem to confirm the usage of this complex for the feast: unfinished statues of Djoser likely wearing the *Sed*-festival robe (Firth – Quibell 1936, I; 12; II: pls. 28-30); stone panels showing the king while performing the ritual dance or the running of the course (Firth – Quibell 1936, I: 19, 33, 59). From the reign of Sneferu, the first king of the 4th Dynasty there are some fragments of relief from the Valley Temple of the Bent Pyramid complex at Dashur (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 21. Fakhry 1961, I: fig. 53, pl. 42 f.; II: 1;). Evidence from the reign of Cheops consist of some blocks from the king's funerary complex at Giza, and a number of re-used blocks from the 12th Dynasty Pyramid of Amenemhat I (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 21. Goedicke 1974: 24). Chepren is shown while wearing the red-crown and the *Sed*-festival robe in the fragment of a statue (Leipzig 1948) whose provenance is unknown (Hornung 1974: 21. Hölscher 1912: 85-86, 94). Blocks from the funerary temple of Sahure at Abusir (Borchardt 1913: 45-7) and scenes from the sun temple of Nyuserra at Abu-Gurob (von Bissing – Kees 1923 and 1928) indicate that there were depictions of the *Sed*-festival in those structures of the 5th Dynasty (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 22). The scenes from the temple of Nyuserra are the earliest detailed depictions from the Old Kingdom and represent the fullest record of the festival in the earlier period. The fragment of a statue (CG 40) and the inscription on an alabaster vase (Louvre E 5323) are respectively the evidence of the *Sed*-festivals during the reign of Menkauhor and Djedkara (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 22-3). Inscriptions on fragmentary reliefs and statues as well as fragments of relief from the funerary temple of Pepi II at Saqqara indicate the celebration of *Sed*-festivals suggest the celebration of *Sed*-festivals by Pepi I and Pepi II in the 6th Dynasty (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 24). During the First Intermediate Period (7th – 9th Dynasty) there is no evidence for *Sed*-festivals. A statue of Antef II of the 10th Dynasty representing the king in a probable *Sed*-festival robe is ambiguous (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 25). Statues of the king Mentuhotep II of the 11th Dynasty in the *Sed*-festival robe have been found in his funerary temple at Deir el-Bahari (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 26) and an inscription in the Shatt-er-Rigal probably refers to the ceremony (Winlock 1947: pl. 37). An inscription in the Wadi-Hammamat records a *Sed*-festival in Year 2 of the reign of Mentuhotep IV (Couyat – Montet 1912: 110). Proper representations of the *Sed*-festivals from the Middle Kingdom are rare, probably because of the re-use of the blocks on which they were carved by New Kingdom rulers (Gohary 1992: 8). Evidence of the feast consists mainly of inscriptions for most of the kings of the 12th Dynasty (Simpson 1963: 63; Hornung 1974: 27-8). A door lintel from Medamud of the time of Sobekhotep II and statues of the king Sobekhotep VI in the *Sed*-festival robe are the evidence of *Sed*-festivals from the 13th Dynasty (Hornung 1974: 29-30). There are no proofs of *Sed*-festivals in the Second Intermediate Period, probably because of the short last of many of its reigns, so that it is likely that the festivals did not occur frequently or were not celebrated at all (Gohary 1992: 8). The occurrence of the *Sed*-festival is fully documented in the New Kingdom (for a complete list see Hornung 1974: 30-37). Focusing on the more complex pictorial representations of the feasts there are some scenes of the time of Thutmose III in his Festival Hall at Karnak (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 31; PM II: 110 ff). The fullest depictions of the ceremony date back to the time of Amenhotep III and have been found in his temple at Soleb in Nubia (Giorgini 1965), in his temple at Luxor (PM II: 113), in his funerary temple in Western Thebes (Borchardt 1926: 37 ff.) and in the tomb of *Hrw-f* (Fakhry 1942: 447 ff.). Blocks from the time of Amenhotep IV found at Karnak and the Theban area suggest that Amenhotep IV's first *Sed*-festival was largely depicted in the Aten temple at Karnak (Gohary 1992: parts II and III). Several inscriptions attest *Sed*-festivals for most of the kings of the 19th Dynasty (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 37-9). For the 20th Dynasty we have

and to identify the large number of individuals involved. Egyptological studies have emphasized that the *Sed*-festival was a ritual of renewal of kingship after thirty years of rule.⁹⁴⁰ This festival took place in an ensemble of buildings from and to where the king had to process in different times of the celebration.

Focusing on the place where the festival was celebrated, there are a number of conflicting theories.⁹⁴¹ Middle Kingdom representations show the king seated in a double-pavilion of the *Sed*-festival⁹⁴² and sources mentions certain “jubilee mansions”, the *ḥwt Ḥb-sd*⁹⁴³ used during the celebration of the feast. Monuments such shrines and chapels erected by Sesostris I,⁹⁴⁴ Amenhotep I,⁹⁴⁵ Amenhotep II⁹⁴⁶ and Thutmose III⁹⁴⁷ at Karnak for the occasion of their *Sed*-festival do not prove that the rulers in question celebrated their *Sed*-festival there, but as Thebes was the principal city where commemorate these events.⁹⁴⁸ During the Middle Kingdom for example, it is likely that the 12th Dynasty kings celebrated their *Sed*-festivals at *’lty-t3wy*.⁹⁴⁹ Rameses II seems to have held at least two *Sed*-festivals at his Delta Residence of *Pr-R’mmw*⁹⁵⁰ and Rameses III may also have celebrated one in the same city.⁹⁵¹ Presumably the festival was time by time celebrated in one particular place, while shrines or obelisks were erected in various temples to record the event up and down Egypt.⁹⁵²

evidence for the celebration of a *Sed*-festival by Rameses III (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 40). For the Late Period, *Sed*-festivals are attested for Seshonq I, Osorkon II and Sheshonq V, of the 22nd Dynasty, and for Taharqa of the 26th Dynasty (Hornung - Staehelin 1974: 40-1). The most complete series of scenes is that of Osorkon II at Bubastis (Naville 1892).

⁹⁴⁰ For an overall discussion of the *Sed*-festival see Gohary 1992. While trying to understand the original meaning of the term, Gohary suggests that “the word *sd* in some way referred to a period of time such as a generation or a man’s expected life-span”, in Gohary 1992: 2.

⁹⁴¹ Mathieu 1956: 25 f.

⁹⁴² A scene showing the king seated in this pavilion occurs on blocks from a door of Sesostris III from the Temple of Mont at Medamud (Gardiner 1944: 30, pl. 4) and the same can be said of the lintel from Tell Basta with a similar scene of Amenemhat III, in Farid 1964: 94, pl. 10.

⁹⁴³ Gardiner 1944: 27, note 2.

⁹⁴⁴ Simpson 1963: 61. Lacau - Chevrier 1956.

⁹⁴⁵ PM II: 134.

⁹⁴⁶ PM II: 185-6.

⁹⁴⁷ PM II: 110 ff.

⁹⁴⁸ Gohary 1993: 5. *Sed*-festival reliefs in mortuary temples and pyramid or tomb complexes were probably intended to ensure that the deceased king celebrate his own *Sed*-festivals, in Hornung – Staehelin 2006: 50-1.

⁹⁴⁹ Simpson 1963: 53 ff.

⁹⁵⁰ Habachi 1971: 67.

⁹⁵¹ Gardiner 1918: 192 ff.

⁹⁵² Several monuments showing *Sed*-festival scenes exist in various parts of Egypt: for example Sesostris I (Heliopolis obelisk: PM IV: 60; Karnak chapel: PM II: 61 ff.; Koptos reliefs: Petrie 1896: pls. 9-10), Thutmose I (Karnak obelisk: PM II: 74); Thutmose III (Festivall Hall at Karnak: PM II: 110 ff.;

Apart from the *Hb-sd*-temples, another building which is frequently represented and cited in *Sed*-festival scenes of New Kingdom sources is the '*h*-palace. The existence of an '*h* (*n*) *Hb-sd* is known since the Old Kingdom⁹⁵³ and continues to be attested in New Kingdom texts.

Jar labels and jar sealings from Malkata, referring to a series of commodities contained in the jars (*irp*, "wine", *srmt*, "ale", '*d*', "fat", *iwf*, "meat", *sntr*, "incense") used for the first *Hb-sd* of the king have been found on the site of Amenhotep III's palace complex.⁹⁵⁴ The majority of the jars from the palace of the site⁹⁵⁵ are said to be for the "*Sed*-festival(s) of His Majesty" and are dated to his 30th regnal year (1370 BC).⁹⁵⁶ The concentration in the palace area of such huge quantities of festival supplies, sent in from many distant parts of the kingdom, makes suppose that was in the Malkata Palace that Amenhotep III celebrated his *Sed*-festival. In contrast to the first *Hb-sd* the labels dated to Year 34, containing the phrase "for the repetition of the *Hb-sd* of His Majesty", were found in or near the forecourt of the Amun Temple; as suggested by Hayes, a peculiar group of buildings - the temple, the storerooms, the prominent terrace around, a courtyard and a multi-pillared festival hall on the right side of the processional way to temple⁹⁵⁷ – was designed for the celebration of the *Hb-sd*.⁹⁵⁸ The few inscribed jars associated with the third *Hb-sd*, like those linked to the first *Sed*-festival, were almost all found in the southern portion of the palace area.⁹⁵⁹ An additional indication of the general location in which all three *Hb-sd* were celebrated is contained in an inscription on the base of an ebony statuette of Amenhotep in the Brooklyn Museum no. 48.28. In this source, which may have come originally from the palace itself,

Heliopolis obelisk: URK IV: 590), Amenhotep III (Luxor Temple: PM II: 327-8; Soleb Temple: Giorgini 1965), Amenhotep IV and Rameses II.

⁹⁵³ Fragment 88B of the Papyrus of Abusir containing the archives of the Mortuary Temple of Neferirkare Kakai, mentions the god Seth in the '*h n Hb-sd*. Posener-Kriéger 1976, II: 561.

⁹⁵⁴ Hayes 1951: 88 ff.

⁹⁵⁵ Nearly all the jars-label associated with the first *Sed*-festival are from the older, southern quarter of the palace complex, that is, from the King's Palace, the Middle Palace, the West Villas, the southern rubbish mounds and the South Village. Hayes 1951: 84.

⁹⁵⁶ Galàn 2000: 255-64. Hayes 1951: 82-4. Of the 200 jars of supplies found in the palace which are designed in their labels as being for the *Hb-sd* of the king, 75 are dated to Year 30; 2 fragmentary examples to Year 31 and 32.

⁹⁵⁷ Hayes 1951: fig. 1.

⁹⁵⁸ Hayes 1951: 85.

⁹⁵⁹ Such inscribed jars come from the Middle Palace, the West Villas, the southern rubbish mounds and the South Village, in Hayes 1951: 86.

the king's name is followed by the epithets *nb Ḥb (Sd) m Pr-ḥ'y*, "Lord of (Sed-)festival in the House of Rejoicing".⁹⁶⁰

According to the impressions stamped on the sun-dried mud brick of the palace, the name *Pr-ḥ'y* was used in reference to this complex of structures. In Types VI and VII⁹⁶¹ the king's name is followed by the phrase "in/of the House of Rejoicing (*n Pr-ḥ'y*)". Since these types are mainly from the Palace of the King and the Middle Palace, the *Pr-ḥ'y* was probably not a single structure, but a complex which included different palatial buildings.⁹⁶² Type IX from the Temple of Amun reads "the Temple of Amun in the House of Rejoicing" showing that *Pr-ḥ'y* definition could be extended to the entire complex and comprehended the Amun Temple.⁹⁶³ The inference that the palace was named *Pr-ḥ'y* in honor of the celebration of the *Ḥb-sd* is a plausible one.⁹⁶⁴ Even the Great Palace of Amenhotep IV at Amarna seems to have been called *Pr-ḥ'y*, the extended title being *Pr-ḥ'y n p3 'ltn*, "House of Rejoicing in the Temple Aten".⁹⁶⁵ Both the palace complex at Malkata and the Great Palace at Amarna seem to have been connected to the temple of the cities, although the Amarna *Pr-ḥ'y* is said to be "in the temple of Aten", while the Malkata *Pr-ḥ'y* included a temple of Amun,⁹⁶⁶ this connection underlying their ceremonial function. References to a *Ḥb-sd* ceremony taking place at Amarna are contained in the boundary stele of the city,⁹⁶⁷ although they do not prove that it was actually celebrated.⁹⁶⁸

Seal impressions on the stoppers of amphorae from Malkata referring to commodities such as wine, fat or honey for the *Sed*-festival⁹⁶⁹ were found during the excavations of the

⁹⁶⁰ Hayes 1951: 86.

⁹⁶¹ According to the typology made by Winlock, in Winlock 1912: 186.

⁹⁶² Hayes 1951: 163.

⁹⁶³ Lansing 1918, Supplement: 8.

⁹⁶⁴ Wörterbuch defines the *Pr-ḥ'y* as the name of a building in which the celebration of the *Ḥb-sd* took place, in Wb III: 40. This function of the House of Rejoicing is also recorded in Ptolemaic times at Edfu, where the name occurs frequently: Chassinat 1960, II: 4,3; III. 110, 3; 114, 12; IV. 299, 15; V. 39, 4; 160, 17; 217, 5; VI. 18, 14. Chassinat 1910: 139, 12; 148, 6.

⁹⁶⁵ Fairman 1935: 138.

⁹⁶⁶ According to Hayes, the temple of Amun in the *Pr-ḥ'y* was merely a mansion or a chapel built within the palace complex for the celebration of the king's *Ḥb-sd*, in Hayes 1951: 178.

⁹⁶⁷ URK IV: 1974, 1978.

⁹⁶⁸ That the *Sed*-festival was actually celebrated at Amarna is the subject of conflicting opinions among the scholars. Some of them argue that neither the royal tomb nor the nobles' tombs have any scenes which might represent the celebration of the *Sed*-festival and none of the many jar labels found at Amarna mentions this festival, in Gohary 1992. Suggestion for possible *Sed*-festival scenes from Amarna royal palaces have been made by Aldred, in Aldred 1973: 82 ff.

⁹⁶⁹ Hayes 1951: 157, A-D; 159, CC, HH

Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1910-20⁹⁷⁰ and came from magazines and rubbish heaps widely distributed over the palace area.⁹⁷¹ Other fragments of small mud sealings from rolls papyrus, some of them containing epithets of the king related to his *Sed*-festival⁹⁷² come from the outbuildings of the King's Palace.

In the case of the first *Hb-sd* the evidence of jar-labels integrates other sources such as blocks and reliefs from Amenhotep III's temple at Soleb in Upper Nubia⁹⁷³ and his mortuary temple at Kom el Hetān in western Thebes,⁹⁷⁴ an inscription from the funerary temple of his great official, 'Imn-*h*tp, the son of *Hpw*,⁹⁷⁵ and inscriptions in the Theban tombs of two prominent officials of his time, the king's Scribe *Hrw-f*⁹⁷⁶ and the King's scribe *K3-m-h*t.⁹⁷⁷ Both in *Hrw-f*'s tomb no. 192 and at Soleb, the building from and to which Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy process while performing the ceremonies of the first *Hb-sd* is labeled '*h*.

Scenes, which can definitely be ascribed to the first *Sed*-festival of Amenhotep III, occur on the north face of the north side of the gateway between the court and the outer hypostyle-hall of the temple of the king at Soleb in Upper Nubia. The scenes are arranged in eight main registers; the sequence of events begins in the bottom register and works its way up to the top. The festival opens at the right-hand side of the first register with a procession in which the king is borne along on the *w*tst-palanquin. At the left of the first register, the king proceeds to the palace on foot, accompanied by the queen and the chief lector priest and royal scribe *Nb-mrw-tf*. At the extreme left, the king and the queen with the royal children, are shown outside the palace where the king comes to rest (*h*tp) when coming to perform all the rites of the *Sed*-festival:⁹⁷⁸

*h*tp m '*h* *ī* *h*r *ī*rt *ī*rrwt nb n *Hb*-(sd)

Resting in the '*h* when coming to perform all the rites of the *Sed*-festival

⁹⁷⁰ Winlock 1912: 184-9.

⁹⁷¹ Duplicates and additional types occur among the palace jar-sealings discovered by Daressy in 1888-89 and now in the Cairo Museum (nos. 11424-6), in: Daressy 1903: 168-9. Lepsius 1973, Text III: 185, 224.

⁹⁷² Hayes 1951: 167: S 23-26, 59, 72.

⁹⁷³ PM VII: 170, 5-7. Lepsius 1973, III: pls. 83-6; Text, V: 234-39.

⁹⁷⁴ Borchardt 1926: 37-51.

⁹⁷⁵ Robichon – Varille 1936: pl. 35.

⁹⁷⁶ Fakhry 1943: 491-5.

⁹⁷⁷ Brugsch 1883-1891, 5: 1123; PM I: 89-90.

⁹⁷⁸ Naville 1892: Pl. 4 bis, 15.

There is no evidence of foundation ceremonies preceding this opening procession like those at Abu Gurob, but such scenes may have been carved on the pylon or elsewhere in the court. At the extreme left of the second register, the king and the queen stand outside the palace near the inscription below:⁹⁷⁹

ḥtp m 'ḥ in n[sw] ḥft iit ḥr tnt3t [m hrw 3 n] Ḥb- (sd) Resting in the 'ḥ when coming from the dais [on day 3] of the *Sed*-festival

In the fifth register he appears again offering to Horus and Khnum before returning to the palace:⁹⁸⁰

ḥtp m 'ḥ in nsw ḥft iit ḥr tnt3t m [hrw 13] n Ḥb- (sd) Resting in the 'ḥ when coming from the dais [on day 13] of the *Sed*-festival

Officials and priests depicted in the subsidiary register include the vizier (*t3ty*), the “sole friend” (*smr w'ty*), the “friend of the House” (*smr pr*), the *sm*-priest, the priest of *Srkt* (*ḥm ntr Srkt*) and several courtiers. In the surviving part of the eighth and last register, the standard of Wepwawet of the South is shown being carried to the court (*šsp tp w3t nst ntr r wshṯ*). There follow two depictions of the king and the queen once more proceeding to the palace, apparently on day 14 of the festival. In general, the surviving scenes at Soleb are largely concerned with the king making offering to various deities and then returning to the palace, usually preceded by the standards of Wepwawet and their attendants. As rightly stated by Gohary,⁹⁸¹ the representation of the *Sed*-festival of Osorkon II on the walls of his temple at Bubastis appears to follow very closely that of Amenhotep III at Soleb. At the bottom of the buttress on wall B, the king and the queen are shown outside a building near an inscription similar to that found at Soleb (Fig. 3):

ḥtp m 'ḥ in nswt ḥft iit ḥr irt irrwt m [Ḥb-sd] The resting (of the king) in the 'ḥ, when he goes to perform the rites, Lord of the [*Ḥb-sd*]

⁹⁷⁹ Naville 1892: pl. 13, i.

⁹⁸⁰ Naville 1892: pl. 10, 3.

⁹⁸¹ Gohary 1992: 18.



Figure 3. Representation of the *Sed*-festival of Osorkon II on the walls of his temple at Bubastis (Naville 1892: Pl. IV bis, 15.).

The scenes of Amenhotep III's first *Sed*-festival in the south portico of the tomb of *Hrw-f* are clearly a very much-abbreviated illustration of moments of the festival and are probably restricted to ceremonies in which *Hrw-f* himself had an active role. Three main events are depicted: the rewarding of high officials - *Hrw-f* among them - by the king who is enthroned on a dais; the procession of the king and queen from "his palace of the House of Rejoicing" (*'h.f n pr-h'y*), where *Hrw-f* appears amongst the accompanying officials;⁹⁸² and finally, the towing of the evening solar bark, in which *Hrw-f* appears with the royal couple, the chief lector priest and two viziers. A text of eleven lines is over the scene of the king's baldachin. In front of it there are two tables on which are several precious goods. According to the text the king presented these golden objects to the different officials and noble on the occasion of his first *Sed*-festival.⁹⁸³

l. 2) *nswt bity nb t3wy Nb-M3't-R' s3 mri.f 'Imn-htp-hk3t-W3st di 'nh.f irt Hb-sd tpy n hm.f*

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, of the Two Lands son of *Nb-M3't-R'*, his loved *f 'Imn-htp-hk3t-W3st*, may he give life, being made the first *Hb-sd* by His Majesty

l. 3) *h'i nswt n irtw sb3 wrty prwy 'h h'i.st st3 srw*

appearance in glory of the king at the eyes (?) of the door of the double houses of the *'h*, he

⁹⁸² Fakhry 1943: 491-3.

⁹⁸³ *Ibid.*: 491.

I. 4) <i>nswt [...] ḥmy-ḥnty nt rmt rwty nswt rḥ ḥrw</i>	appears in glory dragging the officials the royal priests of the people (going) to the gateway, acquaintance of the king
I. 5) <i>wi3 ḥrpw ḥ nswt (..)</i>	overseer of the sacred boats of the ḥ of the king (..)

This inscription refers to the ḥ as a building comprehending the *prwy*, “double houses”, used during the celebration of the *Sed*-festival as a component of the title of officials taking part in it.⁹⁸⁴

The celebration of the *Ḥb-sd* by Amenhotep IV is known thanks to scenes from the temple built by the king for the Aten at Karnak using small sandstone blocks known as *talatat*, reused by succeeding kings - particularly Horemheb and Rameses II - in other structures at Karnak, such as the Hypostyle Hall and the filling in the 2nd, 9th and 10th pylons.⁹⁸⁵ Of the 35000 decorated *talatat* about 1500 can be identified as coming from probable *Sed*-festival scenes. In the positively identified scenes, the only building named as place used for the celebration of the *Sed*-festival is the *gm p3-’ltn*, which is part of the Aten temple and the ḥ.⁹⁸⁶

The scenes depicted on the Karnak *talatat* are quite different from each other and show various rites and ceremonies which took place in different parts of the *Ḥb-sd* temple: the queen and the king leaving the palace, mounting their palanquins, in procession, entering the temple and dismounting, then returning to the palace, presumably after performing rites in the temple, and the king offering to Aten in a series of identical roofless kiosks and processing from one to another.⁹⁸⁷

The largest *Sed*-festival scene has been reconstructed by blocks extracted by the 9th pylon of Karnak;⁹⁸⁸ the scene covers 11 courses of *talatat* and shows 3 registers depicting several episodes in the Upper Egyptian palanquin procession. In the bottom register the king, wearing the white crown and the *Sed*-festival robe and accompanied by the queen, comes out of the palace, mounts the basket-shape palanquin and is borne off. In the two upper registers the procession returns to the palace.

⁹⁸⁴ Examples of connections between the boats or the boats-overseer and the *Ḥb-sd* ceremony are known since the Old Kingdom, in Goelet 1982: 334-5.

⁹⁸⁵ Gohary 1992: 30.

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: 34.

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*: 39.

⁹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*: 40-43.

A section of this scene preserved on two courses of *talatat* depicts at the left of the second lower register several priest carrying offerings and god's standards. Beside these figures are three columns of hieroglyphs reading as follows:⁹⁸⁹

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| l. 1) <i>ḥ'ī [m] 'ḥ in nswt</i> | Appearing [in] the 'ḥ by the king |
| l. 2) <i>ḥr st [ḥr] ḥrt ḥrw twt</i> | on the throne [in order] to perform the rites appropriate |
| l. 3) <i>m ḥrw n dšrt</i> | on the days of the red crown |

The expression *ḥrw n dšrt* "the days of the red crown" clearly refers to the days on which rites of Lower Egypt were performed. At the right of the inscription are the tops of the two Aten cartouches, which presumably belong to the sun-disk under which the king is depicted. The scene under discussion has been interpreted as a possible *Sed*-festival scene because of the inscription, and the occurrence of the building name *gm p3 'ltn* at the left of the lower register.⁹⁹⁰

In other *talatat* the term 'ḥ is used as a component in the official titles of some participants: in a scene showing five bending officials, taking part in a palanquin procession with titles over them, the fourth is entitled *ḥrp 'ḥ*, "controller of the 'ḥ".⁹⁹¹



Figure 4. *ḥrp 'ḥ* official in a possible *Sed*-festival scene from a Karnak *talatat* of Amenhotep IV. (Gohary 1992: 55, scene no. 32, pl. 15).

In another representation covering 4 courses of *talatat* the upper register is occupied by two officials shown passing between three square pillars, probably the entrance to the temple enclosure: the first man between the two pillars bears the title *ḥrp wsḥt*, "controller of the Broad Hall/Court", while the second man is again a *ḥrp 'ḥ*, "controller of the 'ḥ".⁹⁹²

⁹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: 92-3, no. 111; pl. 46.

⁹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*: 93.

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*: 55, scene no. 32, pl. 15.

⁹⁹² *Ibid.*: 58, scene no. 58, pl. 17.

Other blocks simply show officials with their titles inscribed beside them, such as the block no. 13⁹⁹³ with the epithet *ḥrp ḥ nty ḥr šmst nsw*, “the controller of the ‘ḥ who is in the following of the king” and the block no. 14 carrying the title *ḥrp ḥ*, the controller of the ‘ḥ”.⁹⁹⁴ The presence of the *ḥrp ḥ* functionary in the celebration of the *Sed*-festival is known since the Old Kingdom.⁹⁹⁵

A small wooden shabti dated to the 18/19th Dynasty carries an inscription referring to the owner with the title (Leiden 3.1.1.37 - B.II.120):

imy-r k3wt m ḥwt Ḥb-sd m ḥ n pr-nswt

Overseer of the works in the temple of the *Sed*-festival from/in the ‘ḥ (and) in the *pr-nswt*

It likely refers to an official responsible for organizing the necessary works for the *Sed*-festival in its dedicated temple or sanctuary, the *ḥwt Ḥb-sd*, who worked in the ‘ḥ involved in the same celebration. The reference to the *pr-nswt* probably depends on the administrative nature of the title *imy-r k3wt*.

More generally, written documentation offers a confirmation of the use of a ‘ḥ building at the *Ḥb-sd* ceremony since the Old Kingdom, when the hieroglyph ‘ḥ is depicted in a number of royal reliefs representing the *Sed*-festival.⁹⁹⁶ The Abusir papyrus from the papyrus archive in the funerary temple dedicated to the cult of Neferirkara Kakai (2446 – 2426 B.C.) in his pyramid complex at Abusir mentions the presence of the two gods Horus and Seth in the ‘ḥ *Ḥb-sd*, “the ‘ḥ of the *Sed*-festival”.⁹⁹⁷ In the *Ḥb-sd* reliefs of King Nyuserra’s sun-sanctuary at Abusir, the ‘ḥ appears as one of the most important structures to have been built prior to the ceremony performance, in fact it is the sole type of royal-building that Nyuserra’s reliefs mention in the captions accompanying the scenes that depict the foundation rites preceding the festival.⁹⁹⁸ Analyzing all the Old Kingdom *Ḥb-sd* reliefs,

⁹⁹³ *Ibid.*: 162, pl. 104.

⁹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: 162, pl. 104.

⁹⁹⁵ A re-used block (MMA 09.180.18) from the north side of the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht probably dates back to the 4th Dynasty and originally belonged to the funerary temple of Khufu. The fragmentary block shows a row of officials at the *Sed*-festival. Above each man’s head is his title. Three different types of officials can be distinguished by their costumes, three of whom are entitled as *ḥrp ḥ*, “controller of the ‘ḥ”. The attribution of these scene to a *Sed*-festival representation has been supposed on the basis of a closely related parallel in Nyuserra’s *Sed*-festival relief. Goedicke 1971: 38-9. For other examples of the title see Goelet 1982: 344 ff.

⁹⁹⁶ For a complete analysis of the Old Kingdom documentation see Goelet 1982: 267 ff.

⁹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*: 267-8.

⁹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*: 322.

Goelet has pointed out that the 'h was one of the most important constructions to be built prior to the performance of the *Sed*-festival and that it was apparently used as a type of changing room or as king's dwelling place for the duration of the ceremonies.

The form and disposition of several structures at the Djoser's Pyramid complex make it clear that they were intended to represent the shrines and the buildings of the *Hb-sd* and the 'h was probably included among these.⁹⁹⁹ Old Kingdom studies have concentrated on the possible location of the 'h at the Djoser complex. The problem in designating some part of the funerary complex as actual 'h is in the nature of the available documentation. Sources consist mainly of few inscriptions and reliefs found within Djoser's monument and they all have been discovered in the subterranean area of the precinct and not in the aboveground portions. The stele showing Djoser performing the "donation of the field" mentions a 'h-hd,¹⁰⁰⁰ suggesting that an 'h may have been located somewhere within Djoser's complex, without specifying exactly where. In such panel the inhabitants of the 'h-hd are named *wrw*, meaning "the great ones".¹⁰⁰¹ Other underground relief panels of king Djoser mention a *wsht* court as place for celebration of the *Hb-sd*. The *wsht* hieroglyph would be echoed in the Great *wsht*-court aboveground – to the west side of the proper *Hb-sd* court - where the king would have performed the act of running a course.¹⁰⁰² Considering the common conjunction between the *wsht* and an 'h-like building,¹⁰⁰³ it is likely that a building located near the Great *wsht*-court of Djoser's complex possibly functioned as 'h. The connection between the two terms is known since 5th Dynasty examples in which the 'h appears written inside a *wsht*-glyph.¹⁰⁰⁴ Considering the different attempts to identify the actual location of the 'h within the Great *wsht*-court and the *Hb-sd* court, Friedman¹⁰⁰⁵ has recently suggested its identification with the south tomb, while Goelet has proposed a number of reasons to interpret the "temple T" as 'h-building.¹⁰⁰⁶ He starts from the consideration that this structure would have served as "changing room" and has been quite small, like the "temple T". Personally, I would support Arnold's identification of the 'h-building with the whole *Hb-sd*-court on the basis of its architectural features that

⁹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*: 386.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The same specific sign, composed by the *hd* sign written inside an 'h structure is also known from the Pyramid Texts, where it has not a clear association with the *Hb-sd*. Goelet 1982: 280.

¹⁰⁰¹ Friedman 1995: fig. 14 d.

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.*: fig. 40.

¹⁰⁰³ Spencer 1984: 73.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Goelet 1982: 392.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Friedman 1995: 42.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Goelet 1982: 392-6.

make it look like other palatial buildings such as the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata, the Harim Palace at Amarna and the palace of Merenptah at Memphis.

4.4 Conclusions

As already noted in the previous chapters, the word *ḥ* is one of the five terms most frequently mentioned in several kinds of texts: biographical narratives, account-papyri, brief inscriptions on jars and royal tablets, titles, captions in royal reliefs and narrative religious material.

The contexts where the term is used bring to the interpretation of the *ḥ* as a building with religious or ceremonial functions:

- the *ḥ* appears to be connected with the celebration of feasts such as the Opet Festival¹⁰⁰⁷, the Feast of the Valley¹⁰⁰⁸ and the *Ḥb-sd*;
- such a “ritual palace” also functioned as “coronation palace” from and to where the new king went in procession to be crowned by the god (Amun-Ra);
- the word *ḥ* is rarely associated with administration departments like granaries or treasuries;
- a number of deities are closely associated with the *ḥ*. The most common titles for the living king, “Horus in the palace” and “Horus, Lord of the palace” refer to the king as divine personification and holder of magical powers.

The difficulty in relating palatial terminology to the archeologically known palace of Malkata relies on the fact that written sources from the site do not explicitly define it with anyone of the five words used for the royal palace. Sources from the site refer to this palace only with its proper name, *Pr-ḥʿy*, and not with one of the five generic words for

¹⁰⁰⁷ During the Opet Festival, the palace of Karnak is the place from where the king issued forth, like the god (Amun-Ra) from his temple, to join in the procession of Luxor, and to where the king returned again at the end of the feast. The palace is also the site where some of the rituals of the coronation were reenacted on such occasion. Murnane 1982: 574-9.

¹⁰⁰⁸ The Festival of the Valley originated in Karnak temple and palace, moved to the relevant funerary temples, where temple and palace replicas of the original temple of Karnak reproduced the roles of Karnak temple and palace. In this way the deceased forms of Amun Ra and the king could join the festival and continue to the Hathor temple of Deir el-Bahari. From here the living king and the image of Amun-Ra returned to Karnak, while the deceased god and the king went back to the funerary temple and the temple-palace. Graefe 1982: 187-9.

“palace”. The inscription in the tomb of *Hrw-f* seems to show that a ‘*h*’-building used during the *Hb-sd* ceremonies - was included in the *Pr-h’y*. Although this is a single source, it suggests the presence of a ‘*h*’ within the palace of Amenhotep IV at Malkata.

The attempt to identify the ‘*h*’ in the archaeological evidence is made possible by the integration of the architectural analysis of archeological data. The architectural analysis of the so-called Harim in the palace of Malkata together with the study of its decoration system has shown the possibility of a different interpretation of its function and its similarity with the complex of Merenptah at Memphis. Inscriptions from the palace of Merenptah report the appearance of the king in the ‘*h*’ (*nswt h’i(t) m ‘h*), most likely referring to the same building from which they come.

The tripartite plan of this building is similar to that of the so-called Temple-Palaces of the 19th and 20th Dynasty. Inscriptions from the palace of Medinet Habu confirm the identification of the building attached to the south court of the Mortuary Temple of Rameses III as a ‘*h*’-palace. Inscriptions on the large false door behind the dais of the throne room of the first palace (B.I.56) mention a building called ‘*h*’:

‘h hwt.f špsi and *‘h n ‘nh w3s*

The “palace of his noble temple” and the “palace of life and dominion”¹⁰⁰⁹

On the doorjambs of the two entrances to the palace the king enters and leaves “the palace of his noble temple” (*‘h hwt.f špsi*) in order to join the god Amun during the Feast of Opet (eastern entrance) and the Feast of the Valley.¹⁰¹⁰ The ‘*h*’ palace is also mentioned in the dedication inscription of Papyrus Harris I, IV 11-12 (B.I.73):

iry.n.k ‘h špsi nswt m hnw.s

I made a noble ‘*h*’, the king being in it - the temple

The ‘*h*’ is presented as part of the *hwt* (temple) within which the palace was built, these inscriptions suggesting the ceremonial and religious nature of the ‘*h*’.

The design of the first temple-palace of Rameses III is, in a much reduced form, remarkably faithful to the layout of the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata, as well as the temple

¹⁰⁰⁹ Hölscher 1941: fig. 28 and pl. 37.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Ibid.*: 238 B and 239.

palace of Rameses II in the Ramesseum, that of Merenptah at Qurna, and that of Sety I at Qurna.

From the collected data, we can assume that the so-called “ceremonial palaces” as they have been identified thanks to recurrence of specific architectural features, with their elongated shape and the tripartite articulation of inner spaces, correspond to the ‘*h*’-palace described in written sources (A.III.5). The most famous literary text that presents the description of the inner section of the ‘*h*’ is the Tale of Sinuhe dating back to the Middle Kingdom. The passage in question describes the moment in which Sinuhe was ushered (*st3*) through the palace (‘*h*’) before Sesostri I and the royal entourage, after a lifetime in exile:

<i>hd(-t3).n rf dw3 sp 2 iw iw(w) i3’s n.i</i>	When it was dawn, very early, they came and summoned me;
<i>10 (n) s m iwt</i>	Ten men coming,
<i>10 (n) s m šms hr st3.i r ‘h</i>	ten men going, ushering me to the ‘ <i>h</i> ’.
<i>dhn.n.i t3 im(y)t(w) šspw</i>	(There) I touched the ground between the sphinxes
<i>msw-nswt ‘h’(w) m wmt hr irt hsfw.i</i>	as the royal children stood in the portal, receiving me;
<i>smrw st3w r w3hy hr rdt.i hr w3t ‘hnwt(y)</i>	and the friends who ushered to the Pillared Hall were showing me the way to the Audience Hall.
<i>gm.n.i hm.f hr st wrt m wmt nt d’m</i>	I found His Majesty on the great throne in the portal of electrum. ¹⁰¹¹
<i>wn.k(wi) rf dwn.kwi hr ht.i</i>	Then I was stretched out prostrate,
<i>hm.n.(i) wi m-b3h.f</i>	unconscious of myself in front of him (..)

After having received help by the royal children at the portal (*wmt*) of the ‘*h*’, which can be interpreted as a strong monumental entrance in the enclosure wall of the palace, Sinuhe passes through it. The first columned hall he crosses is the *w3hy*, according to Quirke to be intended as the point where the outer and the inner sectors of the main palace met.¹⁰¹² Then he is put on the way (*w3t ‘hnwt(y)*), to which Quirke¹⁰¹³ refers as the possible path on which the visitors approached the audience hall, the ‘*hnwt(y)*, here intended as inner section of the palace. The last section he passes through is the throne room where he finds His Majesty on the great throne (*st wrt*) of the palace. The following expression *m wmt nt d’m* has been differently interpreted;¹⁰¹⁴ taking Kuhlman’s interpretation of *m wmt*¹⁰¹⁵ as a

¹⁰¹¹ The expression *m wmt nt d’m* generally interpreted as “on a podium of electrum” has been differently translated by Kuhlmann “Ich fand Seine Majestät auf dem hohen Thron im Türdurchgang aus Weissgold (sitzen)”, in Kuhlmann 1977: 30.

¹⁰¹² Quirke 1990: 40.

¹⁰¹³ *Ibid.*: 20.

¹⁰¹⁴ Spencer 1984: 188.

¹⁰¹⁵ “Türdurchgang”, in Kuhlmann 1977: 30.

view of the throne though the doorway into the audience hall before entering this room from outside, the *wmt* would be the entrance to the throne room, whereas *nt d'm* would again refer to word *st*, as the decoration of the throne.¹⁰¹⁶ I refer here to the plan published by Gnirs after Van Siclen's plan (fig. 1) of the palace at Tell Basta, where he offers a hypothetical reconstruction of the "way to the inner palace" (*w3t nswt*) (fig. 1).¹⁰¹⁷ The succession of the first entrance courtyard, the second central hall and the possible throne room is based on an off-axis entryway. No definite sequence of a vestibule, a long central hall and the throne room at the end is clearly visible here, as well as in the Second Intermediate palace discovered at Ezbet Helmi, part of Tell el-Dab'a (PL. V),¹⁰¹⁸ remarkably similar to the North Palace at Deir el-Ballas (PL. XI). Starting from the New Kingdom "ceremonial palaces", the above evidence from actual palaces demonstrates that they developed according to an axial shape, with an entrance courtyard, a long narrow hall along the central axis of the structure and the throne hall at the end. The *w3t nswt* is organized so that the raised dais opposite the entrance to the throne room (*wmt*) is abstractly visible from the entrance to the first hall (*w3hy*).

This section wants to be an attempt of application of the philological study of written sources to the interpretation of archaeological remains. The philological study has allowed to display a correspondence of the sections and the function of the 'h-palace in texts with the shape of some palatial structures subscribed to a basic architectural formula (under the label of "ceremonial palace"), as identified by the archaeological analysis. Both the architectural articulation of inner spaces and the decoration system show that there was a fairly strict conception of the essential elements of the royal palace in the New Kingdom corresponding to its function. The 'h of the *Hb-sd* is expressly linked to a particular festival, which may mean that it was a temporary structure built just for the duration of the ceremony. Its impermanence, however, is far from certain, especially since the jubilee could be performed several times during a reign. More probably such a 'h may have been constructed by each king,¹⁰¹⁹ and its use would have been not strictly restricted to the celebration of the *Hb-sd*. Some of the palaces described above may have not been actually used during the celebration of this kind of festival, but their conception of ceremonial palaces was similar to the 'h-palaces used during the celebration of the *Hb-sd* in both

¹⁰¹⁶ Gnirs 2009: 15, note 9.

¹⁰¹⁷ *Ibid.*: 16, fig. 1.

¹⁰¹⁸ Eigner 1985: 19-25.

¹⁰¹⁹ Goelet 1982: 268.

design and decoration. This is clearly the case of the temple-palaces attached to the mortuary temples of the 19th and 20th Dynasty at Thebes.¹⁰²⁰

The ritual functions of a 'h-building ranged from the rebirth of the reigning king and the renewing of his office to his coronation or enthronement on specific occasions. Special "ritual palaces" were the "Temple-Palaces" attached to the courtyard of the mortuary temples of the 19th and 20th Dynasty at Thebes, for the use of the deceased king. All these buildings, intentionally designed, based on common architectural features. It is not surprising that these features are very similar to those that one can find used in the New Kingdom temples, characterized by the sequence of a first entrance courtyard, a central columned hall and the vestibule at the end. It seems that the tripartite plan, with its variations, was ideologically understood as identification of a "ceremonial architecture" both religious and secular.

¹⁰²⁰ Daressy 1889: 82. Referring to the inscription from the temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu and the Ramesseum at Thebes, he states: "Il semblerait résulter en outre de cela que le 'h n'est pas le palais du roi, sa résidence habituelle. Cette construction n'est qu'un annexe du temple, une sote de sacristie; c'est de là que le roi sortait, après s'être montré au balco, pour diriger la fête d'Amon <<de la vallée>>".

CONCLUSIONS:

After having analyzed the occurrences of each of the five principal terms for palace in texts, it is now possible to provide a clearer interpretation of their meaning in a given context and consequently of their specific functions. Considering the extent and the complexity of such a topic, I refer to pertinent chapters for a best understanding of the usage of the palace-vocabulary, of its nuances and applications in context. The purpose of this final section is to summarize the preceding discussion in order to provide the reader with an overall view of how the five words in this study were used in Egyptian texts from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period.


I have presented above a series of reasons as to why an univocal translation of each word remains a non-definitive solution, first of all the possibility that the meaning of a term may vary according to the context and the chronological development of each word's usage. Despite the choice to render each palace-term by transliteration, in order to give a more objective view of the word under consideration, I hope I have offered interpretive key to facilitate the possible translation according to the context of use. By limiting the application of modern labels and categorization of monumental architecture and contextualizing Egyptian palace terminology I aim to a better representation of the function and significance of the ancient Egyptian royal palace.

Primarily importantly, I hope I have brought out that the ancient Egyptian royal palace was a very complex institution, corresponding to multiple functions, which could take place in different sections of the same building (or a cluster of buildings physically associated with each other) or in separate structures, called from time to time with different names. The variations in vocabulary correspond to the broad range of different functions fulfilled by royal palaces and their architectural diversity. The architectural vocabulary in the present study was to find concrete realization in real royal buildings, some of which being archeologically known. A palace would require an "architectural language" that had to be symbolically recognizable to its occupants and its visitors. Such architectural vocabulary may comprise specific arrangement of spaces and circulation system conferred to independent architectural entities or inner sections of a wider building. Some architectural

elements were common to buildings or departments with different functions, and the corresponding definitions may be compound with each of the five words for palace; other architectural terms are specifically linked to one or two of the palace words. Monumental gateways, audience halls, throne rooms as well as private spaces and service areas, with increased specialization of palace and temple architecture from the New Kingdom onwards, were differently distributed, enlarged or reduced, thus distinguishing for example between residential palaces or residential quarters and state or “ceremonial” palaces or sectors.

Although a concise definition of an Egyptian palace cannot be delivered because of a considerable variation in function, it is hoped that the present combined lexicographical and architectural study will clarify both the different activities taking place in a “royal” palace and the diverse architectural features designated for their performance. The main difficulty in attempting to reconstruct the palace entity lies in the lack of a clear separation between secular and religious activities carried out by the Egyptian kingship in the royal palace. According to textual sources, the performance of the ritual activity was not confined to the temple and could take place in the palace together with more profane affairs. Sacred duties and secular matters were framed by specifically dedicated spaces which are recognizable in palace architecture. Spaces for the performance of ceremonial activities could constitute a separate building or be clustered together with the actual living quarters of the king, fortified complexes, administrative and economic facilities.

- The usage of term ‘h:

The function of the ‘h is immediately set by its hieroglyphic sign , the only one consisting of a two dimensional representation of the royal building.¹⁰²¹ The ideographic origin of the sign makes suppose that the term was the one originally used to indicate the palace, or a part of it, in its most generic meaning and its primary function.¹⁰²²

¹⁰²¹ Goelet points out how the term ‘h is the only representation of the royal building for Old Kingdom, since there are not depictions of the palace for this period comparable to those occasionally found in the New Kingdom. Goelet 1982: 210.

¹⁰²² Unlike the term *h_nw*, which may be related to the triliteral stem *h_nw* meaning “inside, interior”, there does not seem to be a comparable root word from which ‘h might have been derived. See Goelet 1982: 400.

While introducing to the study of the usage of the term 'h in the Archaic Period and Old Kingdom texts, Goelet considers the existence of a number of variants of the original ideographic form, in which the basic 'h-sign contains another hieroglyph within it, specifically the signs *ntr*, *hd* and *htp*.¹⁰²³ All the three varieties of hieroglyph representations have the same appearance suggesting that they were most likely closely related structures, all used as buildings or shrines with religious or ceremonial functions. According to Goelet's analysis of these complex forms, the 'h-*ntr* would have been primarily "a changing area or a resting place for the king"; the 'h-*hd* may have been a sort of shrine perhaps used for divine images at festivals.¹⁰²⁴ Such combined forms of the 'h, of which the plain 'h is likely a later version, suggest the original ceremonial or religious function of this entity.

The connection between the 'h and the divine presence continues to be attested in later examples that depict the 'h as place where a number of deities may be found. In many cases it is hard to identify what kind of 'h is intended by stating that different deities are "in" the 'h (*ntr m 'h*) or "of" the 'h (*ntr 'h*), because nothing is said about their relationship with the structure, nor where it may be located. Recurring titles from the Middle Kingdom onwards are those composed by the name of the god or goddess and the formula *nb/nbt 'h*, "Lord/Lady of the 'h". They may be referred to gods like Nekhbet, Mut, Isis, Sekhmet, *Wrt-Hk3w*, Horus, Seth and Apis, who probably had worships associated with the 'h, here to be intended as a religious building more than as a secular one. Only few examples of this kind of occurrences have been cited in the present work, with the sole aim to show this possible usage of the term 'h that goes far beyond the proper "palace" meaning. Together with these titles, the occurrence of the expression 'h *ntr* must be mentioned as opposed to 'h *nswt*, "the 'h of the king", the latter being referred to a proper royal building or "palace". The 'h *ntr* in Middle Kingdom and later sources can be seen as reminiscence of the Old Kingdom complex form 'h-*ntr* cited above and suggests the existence of a 'h-building with a religious nature.

Since the Old Kingdom, the deity most frequently connected with the 'h is Horus. In the Pyramid Texts the king is identified with both Horus and Seth, the two gods being mentioned as *imy(w) 'h*, "those who are in the 'h".¹⁰²⁵ As well as Horus, the living king, is linked to the 'h, Osiris, a god who is associated with the deceased king, is mentioned in the

¹⁰²³ Goelet 1982: 210.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*: 400. The 'h-*htp* may not be a separate form of the 'h, but rather a short form of *htp 'h*, "entering the 'h", in Goelet 1982: 232.

¹⁰²⁵ *Ibid.*: 272, 283.

Pyramid Texts as “the one who is within the ‘*h*”.¹⁰²⁶ The seat of Horus as the living king continues to be the ‘*h* in Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom and Late Period texts as suggested by recurring expressions referring to Horus as “Lord of the ‘*h*” (*nb ‘h*) or as being “in his ‘*h*” (*m ‘h.f*). Even in those occurrences where the word ‘*h* is the seat of the king as sovereign and ruling king (*nswt*) and has a meaning closer to “palace”, its interpretation as secular building or a religious one is not so clear. The offices of the king as Horus-sovereign were partly divine and had to be exercised by cult performance.¹⁰²⁷ The ‘*h*-palace must be intended as a holy locality as well as the temples because the Horus-king is the holder of religious and magical power.¹⁰²⁸ The ‘*h* would have been the place where all the ceremonies connected to the transition of the magical power of the sun-god to the king were performed: here the king took over the role of Horus and was legitimated as his successor.¹⁰²⁹ When the king is mentioned without divine connotations - as *nswt*, *hm* or *nb-t3wy* - in connection with the ‘*h*, festivals or religious rituals are anyway involved. The ritual nature of the ‘*h*-palace is well documented by those narrative passages where it is described as coronation and enthronement place for the king. Crowning (*db3w*)¹⁰³⁰ and enthroning (*h‘w*)¹⁰³¹ ceremonies are recorded in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions as taking place in the ‘*h*, probably on specific occasions (BM 146 [574] – A.II.45 and UC 14333 – A.II.5). During the 18th Dynasty, the ‘*h*-palace functioned as coronation palace from which the new Queen Hatshepsut went in procession inside the Karnak temple where the god Amun crowned her (B.I.11).

l. 6) h‘i.t m ‘h hkr h3t.t m shmty

You appear in glory (you are enthroned) in the ‘*h*
and your head is adorned with the Double Crown

In Horemheb’s Coronation text, the king is described while being crowned by Amun in the ‘*h* (B.I.25).

l. 17) (..) ‘lmn wi s3.f hr h3t.f r ‘h r smn h‘w.f hry-tp.f r sk3(i) ‘h‘w.f mī-ḳd.f

Amun is come, his son in front of him, to the ‘*h* in
order to establish his crown upon his head and in
order to prolong his period like to himself

¹⁰²⁶ *Ibid.*: 284.

¹⁰²⁷ Gundlach 2009: 64.

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid.*: 60.

¹⁰²⁹ Gundlach has recently identified the ‘*h* as the “seat of Horus” whose function was to serve the kingship in order to “secure the transition of the magical-power of the sun-god so as to enable the king to take over the role of Horus and to govern”. He distinguishes the ‘*h* from the *pr-nswt*, as the place of the ruling king.

¹⁰³⁰ FCD: 321.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*: 185.

References to ceremonies during which the king makes his appearance (*h'î*) in the '*h*' often occur in Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom texts. According to the Building Inscription of Sesostri I in Papyrus Berlin 3029 (A.I.5), the king made his appearance in the *d3dw*-hall of the '*h*', ordering an assembly (*hmst*) in this place to announce his intention to build a temple in Heliopolis. Rulers could appear in the '*h*'-palace to make formal declaration of policy or during more sporadic ceremonies, such as specific structured feasts. References to royal appearances in the '*h*' occur quite frequently in New Kingdom texts and may be related to the *Hb-sd* festival. The discovery of raised reception areas as well as windows and balconies of appearance in archeologically known Egyptian royal palaces meets the attestation of such ceremonies in texts. From the New Kingdom onwards, epiphanies of the king could take place in the Window of Appearance¹⁰³² and would have been strictly related to the exchange of diplomatic gifts as suggested by a number of Egyptian texts¹⁰³³ and tomb representations.¹⁰³⁴ A Window of Appearance had to be located in each of the temple-palaces within the Mortuary Temples of the 19 and 20th Dynasty;¹⁰³⁵ it is a prominent feature of the palace of Rameses III at Medinet Habu, at the centre of the façade to the first court of the temple.¹⁰³⁶ As suggested by K. Spence in her architectural analysis of the palaces of el-Amarna, the Windows of Appearance would have been a feature of axial palaces, lying on the axis between the throne room and the main entrance.¹⁰³⁷ Specifically she designates as axial structures the palaces "ordered around a notional line of visibility between entrance and throne room", such as the North Palace and Great Palace at Amarna, the palace attached to the mortuary temples and the Merenptah palace at Memphis.¹⁰³⁸ As regards the site of Amarna, Whittemore has recognized remains of a Window of Appearance at the time of the original excavation in the North Palace, at the end of the first courtyard, on the opposite side of the main entrance.¹⁰³⁹ It is likely that another Window was located at a similar point in the Great Palace of the site. The Window of the Appearance would seem to be a specific device of "ritual" palaces, such as the North

¹⁰³² The Window of Appearance seems to have been introduced under the reign of Amenhotep III and his son. For the introduction of such architectural device and its further use in Egyptian architecture see Kemp 1976: 81-99.

¹⁰³³ For an analysis of the motif of presenting foreign tributes under the Window of Appearance in Late Egyptian Miscellanies see Gnirs 2009: 25 ff.

¹⁰³⁴ One of the most complete scene of such kind is preserved in the tomb of *Tw-tw* at Amarna: here the owner is represented beneath the Window of Appearance in the palace from where the king leads ot and passes rewards to him, in Davies 1903-1908, VI: pl. 19.

¹⁰³⁵ Stadelmann 1973: 224-227.

¹⁰³⁶ *Ibid.*: 221-242

¹⁰³⁷ Spence 2009: 181.

¹⁰³⁸ *Ibid.*: 175.

¹⁰³⁹ Whittemore 1926: 4.

Palace at Amarna and the Theban temple-palaces, whose axial ordering and tripartite plan render them comparable in some ways with temples.

The term *ḥ* is explicitly related to the temple-palaces within the *temenos* walls of the mortuary temples of the 19th and 20th Dynasty. Specifically, the ritual palace of Rameses III to the south of the first court of the Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu is mentioned as *ḥ*-palace in its own inscriptions. In the text carved on the large door behind the seat of the throne room of the first palace, it is described as “the palace of his noble temple” (*ḥ n ḥwt.f špsī*), and “the palace of life and dominion” (*ḥ n ḥ w3s*).¹⁰⁴⁰ On the doorjambs of the two entrances to the palace, the king “appears” (*ḥ ḥ*) at “his *ḥ* of his noble temple” (*ḥ n ḥwt.f špsī*) in order to join the god Amun during the Feast of Opet¹⁰⁴¹ and the Feast of the Valley.¹⁰⁴² A close architectural analysis of these palaces show that they could never have served as residential palaces, even for a short stay and they were intended to be ritual palaces for the use of the dead king.¹⁰⁴³ Their planimetric shape suggests the identification of the *ḥ*-palace with tripartite and axial structures, such as the palace of Merenptah at Memphis or the harim components of the palaces at Amarna and Malkata. Inscriptions from the palace of Merenptah (B.I.49), on the columns of the main hall mention twice the appearance of the king in the *ḥ*, referring to the same structure where they have been found. The tripartite scheme of such palaces remind that of the New Kingdom temples, with the succession a first colonnade court, a hypostyle hall and the *sancta sanctorum* at the bottom of the Egyptian Temple. The shrine after the two courts in the religious building is replaced by the throne room in the palace. The architectural similarity of the *ḥ* with the temple would correspond to their functional similarity, the *ḥ* being used for ceremonial functions sometimes associated with major religious festivals as well as the temple.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Hölscher 1941: fig. 8, pl. 37.

¹⁰⁴¹ The New Kingdom festival of Opet was a rite expressly connected with the Pharaoh and his father Amun(-Ra), during which the Pharaoh traveled to the temple of Luxor at Thebes. Here Amun gave to the king the powers of kingship as the living Horus. Murnane 1982: 574-9. Lanny 1985; 1986. Spalinger 2000: 521.

¹⁰⁴² During the feast of the valley the statues of Amun, his consort Mut and their son Khonsu, were carried across the Nile to Deir el-Bahari in the western bank. Spalinger 2000: 521. For a more detailed analysis of the main Egyptian royal festivals see Breasted 1972.

¹⁰⁴³ Since its discovery, this palace was regarded as a temporary residential quarter used by the king during his occasional visits to Thebes to participate in the feast of the southern residence (Hölscher 1941: 58-61).

The *ḥ* seems to be connected with the celebration of the *Ḥb-sd* festival from the Old Kingdom onwards. The so-called *Sed*-festival consisted in the renewing of the royal office after a period of government and was made possible by an ensemble of buildings, among which there was a *ḥ*-palace.¹⁰⁴⁴ Here the king had to rest in specific moments of the festival before processing to other buildings used during its celebration.

Sections of the Abusir Papyri offer one of the first official confirmation of the *ḥ*'s presence at the *Ḥb-sd* or jubilee festival as a probably temporary structure built for the duration of the ceremony.¹⁰⁴⁵ The *ḥ* is specifically mentioned once among the captions accompanying the scenes of Nyuserra's *Ḥb-sd* reliefs and is used as a component in the official titles of some participants.¹⁰⁴⁶ In one of the underground panels of king Djoser representing the celebration of the *Ḥb-sd* festival the *wrw ḥ-ḥd*, "the great ones of the *ḥ*-shrine" are mentioned,¹⁰⁴⁷ the *ḥ-ḥd* being described in Pyramid Texts as a wooden building that may have been a small shrine for a cult statue.¹⁰⁴⁸ According to several Old Kingdom sources, the *ḥ* was a type of building especially used during the *Sed*-festival, where the king rested in between ceremonies and changed his clothes.¹⁰⁴⁹

Architectural studies of archeologically known royal palaces may help to recognize those structures which would conform to the functions of the *ḥ*-palace as reconstructed thanks to written sources. A proper *ḥ* could have been physically located within the Pyramid complex of Djoser at Saqqara (Fig. 2). The similarity of such *Ḥb-sd* courtyard to the Harim in the King's House at Malkata has been amply discussed in a dedicated chapter of the present study.¹⁰⁵⁰

¹⁰⁴⁴ Gundlach 2009: 65.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Goelet 1982: 268.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: 316.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Friedman 1995: 23, fig. 14.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Goelet 1982: 290.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 682-3. The six panels that have been found below ground in the Pyramid Complex of Djoser at Saqqara show the king in different forms of dress during the celebration of the *Sed*-festival, in: Friedman 1995: 1 ff.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Dorothea Arnold has recently made a fascinating comparison of the plan of the Harim in the King's House at Malkata with that of the supposed *ḥb-sd* complex at the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara, in Arnold 2002: 290-1.

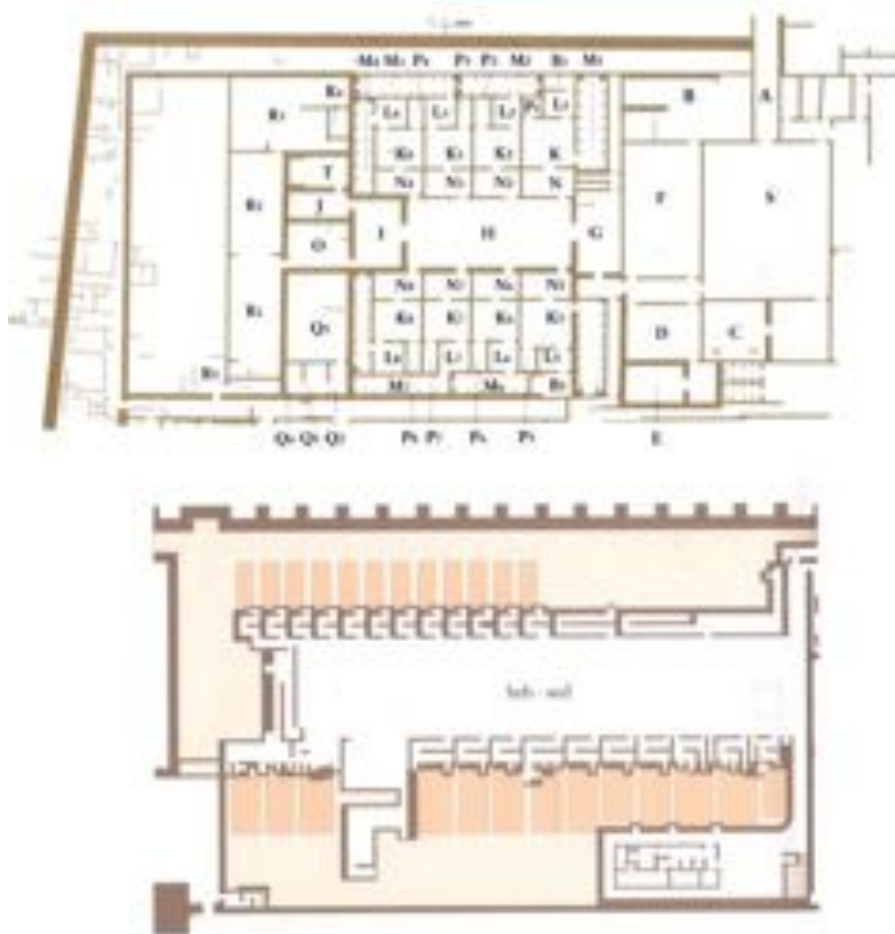


Figure 5. TOP: The King's House of Amenhotep III at Malkata (H = Hypostyle Hall; I = Throne Hall; S = courtyard; T = Bed-chamber of the king; K, L, N, M, P, B = 8 groups of symmetrical halls at each side of the Hypostyle Hall). BELOW: The *Hb-sd* courtyard within the Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara. From Arnold 2002: 291, fig. 28; 294, fig. 30.

While making a fascinating comparison of the plan of these two complexes, Dorothea Arnold has recently stated as follows: “a central north-south oriented space (an open courtyard at Saqqara, a columned hall at Malkata) is flanked on both sides by separate compartments. At the south end is the king's throne, and behind it to the southwest a number of private apartments are located: the so-called ‘Temple T’ at Saqqara, the ‘king's bedchamber suite’ at Malkata”.¹⁰⁵¹ According to Dorothea Arnold's thesis, the “harim suites” of the King's House at Malkata would have been actually ritual spaces utilized by the king only during the celebration of the *Hb-sd* festival: she suggests that the king performed purifications or ablutions in the first room of each suite, that he was enthroned in the central room and that he was invested there “with eight different sets of garments and

¹⁰⁵¹ Arnold 2002: 290-1.

insignia that served during an important ritual performance”, while the items needed for the celebration were kept in the storerooms attached to each suite.¹⁰⁵² She has also recognized a similar plan in the central sector of the Great Palace at Amarna,¹⁰⁵³ almost certainly referring to the so-called Northern Harim. In the chapter dedicated to the recognition of the ‘*h*’ in archeological evidence, I have stressed the architectural similarities between the Malkata and Amarna Harim components and the palace of Merenptah at Memphis.¹⁰⁵⁴

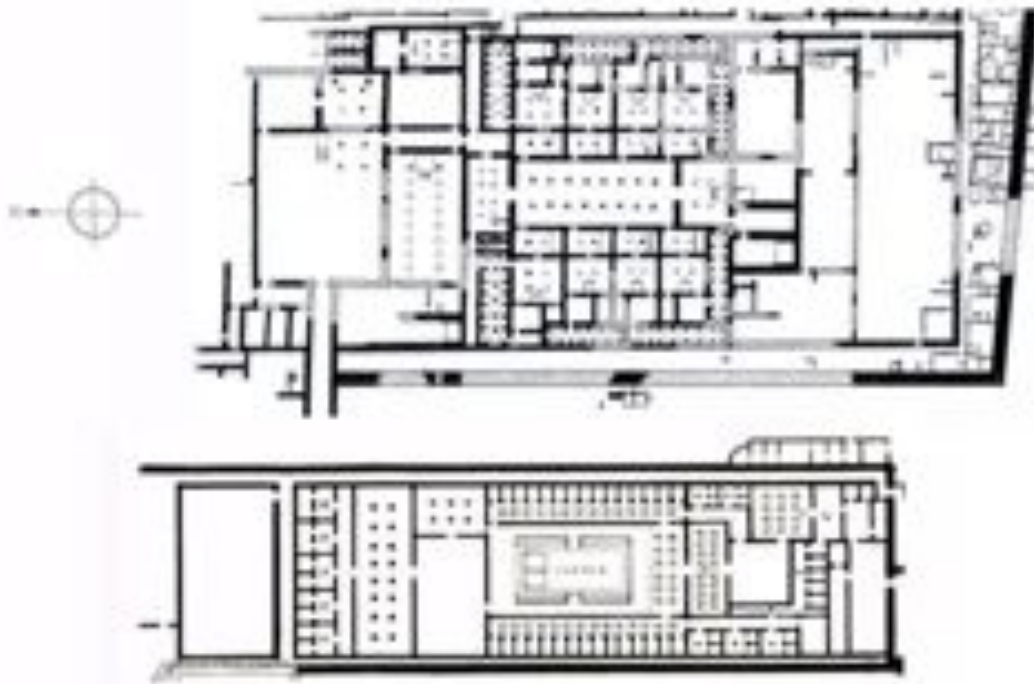


Figure 6. Comparison between the Harim component in the King's House at Malkata at the top and the Northern Harim at Amarna below.

The central axis of all these structures shows a tripartite arrangement of spaces with a first transversal columned hall, a central lengthwise oriented hall and a throne room at the end. Inscriptions from the palace of Merenptah describing the scenes of the king coming from the palace refers to this as a ‘*h*’-palace (B.I.49).

Scenes which can definitely be ascribed to the first *Sed*-festival of Amenhotep III occur on the north face of the north side of the gateway between the court and the outer hypostyle of the temple of the king at Soleb in Upper Nubia (B.I.17) and in the southern portico of the tomb of *Hrw-f* (B.II.80). In the temple of Soleb the king and the queen with the royal

¹⁰⁵² *Ibid.*: 289.

¹⁰⁵³ *Ibid.*: 294.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See above.

children are shown outside the palace where the king comes to rest (*htp*)¹⁰⁵⁵ when coming to perform all the rites of the *Sed*-festival.¹⁰⁵⁶ In *Hrw-f*'s tomb the king and queen are shown coming from the '*h.f n Pr-h'y*', "his palace of the House of Rejoicing", where *Hrw-f* appears amongst the accompanying officials.¹⁰⁵⁷ Basing the impressions stamped on the sun-dried mud-bricks of the palace at Malkata, the *Pr-h'y* was used in reference to this complex of structures.¹⁰⁵⁸ As suggested by the text in *Hrw-f*'s tomb a '*h*-palace would have been located within the *Pr-h'y* as the palace complex at Malkata and might be consequently identified with the Harim component of the palace. The Great Palace at Amarna, this also named *Pr-h'y*, had hence *Sed*-festival connotations¹⁰⁵⁹ and included in its east wing a ceremonial palace, the so-called North Harim, which was probably used by the king while engaged in ceremonies taking place in the Great Palace.

Textual evidence concerning the '*h*' suggests that it was a specific kind of building with ritual functions. Unlike the *hnw* and the *pr-nswt*, the '*h*' is not commonly associated with granaries, treasuries or other economic institutions.

Summarizing, the '*h*' may be identified with a generic "ritual palace" used from time to time with specific functions as:

- Temple palace,¹⁰⁶⁰
- *Sed*-festival palace,
- Coronation Palace and Birth Palace.¹⁰⁶¹

¹⁰⁵⁵ Earlier, in Nyuserra's *Hb-sd* reliefs, the king is showed approaching the '*h*' which has the word *htp* written next to it and the '*h*' is shown as place where the ceremony came near its start and finish, in Goelet 1982: 322.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Naville 1892: Pl. IV bis, 15.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Fakhry 1943: 491-3.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Hayes 1951: 35-40, 82-104, 156-83, 231-42.

¹⁰⁵⁹ A reasonable hypothesis would be that the Great Palace was used for the celebration of the *Sed*-festivals of Sun-Disc a king not every thirty years, but more regularly and frequently in the city's ceremonial life, in Assmann 1972: 143-155.

¹⁰⁶⁰ These palaces were not properly used as ceremonial palaces, but they were understood in the same way and planned with the same architectural shape. Stadelmann's analysis of the funerary temples on the west bank of Thebes, were not actually used by the living king, but were intended for solely for the use of the deceased king. Stadelmann 1973: 224-4, 235-41. After having suggested that these funerary temple palaces were used by the living king as temporary buildings during the festivals performed in the funerary temple (Stadelmann 1973: 227-8, 236, 241), he later stressed their funerary character, inferring that the throne-dais was occupied permanently by a royal statue (Stadelmann 1979: 321, no. 68).

¹⁰⁶¹ Classified by Gundlach as "ritual palaces" in his subdivisions of localities where kings and gods acted, in Gundlach 2009: 61, fig. 10.

Texts often refer to the palace of Karnak as *‘h* used during specific ceremonial occasions related to the temple. Hatshepsut’s Coronation text from the Red-Chapel (B.I.9) mentions a *‘h*-palace used on the occasion of the procession of Amun’s image carried out of the Karnak temple during the Opet Festival; a *‘h n imy Wrt* would have been the place for a sitting taking place under Thutmose III (B.I.5); Amenhotep III would have had a *‘h* built at *‘lpt-swt* according to the inscription of the stele in front of the 8th Pylon of Karnak temple (B.I.14). In a fragment of Horemheb’s stele, he is represented while offering in front of Ptah as *nswt bity nb m ‘h n ‘lpt-swt* (B.I.30). Although the most common recurrent word referring to the palace of Karnak is *‘h*, a Theban *pr-nswt* is mentioned in Horemheb’s Coronation Text (B.I.25) and the autobiography of vizier *Rh-mi-R’* (B.II.33), suggesting the existence of more palaces or more sections of the same palace at Thebes, probably with different functions, which may have been part of the same complex or separate buildings. From texts it is clear that Theban *‘h*-palaces were intimately involved in the great rituals of public festivals that were major events in the life of the city. For example during the Opet Festival, Amun’s image and king leave respectively the Karnak temple and the palace and join the procession to Luxor, to return again to their estates.¹⁰⁶² The Opet Festival was strictly connected to the annual renewal of the king’s *k3* and had a close interrelationship with the *Hb-sd* as 30-year royal renewal.¹⁰⁶³ Another important event which originated in Karnak temple and palace was the Valley Festival, which crossed the river to the relevant funerary temple and then continued to the temple of Hathor.¹⁰⁶⁴ From there the living king and Amun’s image returned to the Karnak palace and temple, the deceased god and king to the funerary temple. The Valley Festival had the symbolic function to unite living and dead, king and god. The juxtaposition of this palace to the Karnak temple clearly suggests the dependence of the palace and the king upon the temple and the imperial god. Palace of Karnak would have had a governmental function too, being provided with a bureaucratic zone, offices and archives, with high officials periodically entering it upon routine business and attending major ceremonies such as royal pronouncements and official’s appointments. The Administrative role of the Theban palace is evoked by the *Instructions to the Vizier* from *Rh-mi-R’*’s tomb (B.II.33) and even in an earlier evidence from an earlier period such as the

¹⁰⁶² Murnane 1982, 4: 574-579.

¹⁰⁶³ Bell 1985: 251-294.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Graefe 1982: 187-9.

Middle Kingdom, the Papyrus Boulaq 18, recording deliveries and expenses at the palace of Thebes during visits of the royal court to it (A.I.17).

Ceremonies of more secular nature that would seem to have taken place in the *‘h* are those consisting of *inw*-delivery. This seems confirmed by autobiographical texts in private tombs which emphasize the responsibility of the official to bear the tribute (*hr inw*: A.II.151; A.II.152; B.I.45) as well as by royal inscriptions referring to the *‘h nswt* as final destination of the *inw* brought by foreign chiefs (A.I.10; B.I.42). The *‘h* can be mentioned as place where this royal tax was received by the king probably on the occasion of specific official ceremonies. Scenes from private tombs of the 18th Dynasty depict the reception of foreign tribute and royal gifts as a triumphal procession to which princes and ambassadors were invited.¹⁰⁶⁵ It is likely that such royal festivals, intended to celebrate the king’s power, would have taken place within the *‘h*-building. Officials could be appointed, promoted and rewarded in this palace, possibly on occasion of specific state ceremonies, as suggested by the inscription in the Theban tomb 192, where vizier *P3-sr* is said to have been raised to “first friend of the *‘h*” and invested with the responsibility for receiving *inw* (B.II.128).

The *‘h*-palace was also used for the royal audience of the official. The most famous literary text that describes such an occasion is the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5), which records the moment in which Sinuhe, a court official, was introduced to the *‘h* before Sesostri I, amid the full panoply of the court, after a time life in exile. The reception of Sinuhe is described as a frightening experience: he, terrified, bows before the king and collapses, being not able to distinguish life from death.¹⁰⁶⁶ Palace architecture must have contributed to create this feeling of intimidation, producing a sense of waiting and in the visitor who had to pass through different courtyards, high pillared halls and gates before arriving before the king, until he was admitted to the place where the king would decide his fate.¹⁰⁶⁷ Such an intimidating impact was determined by both the architectural form and the decorative motifs of the palace. Egyptian palaces were generally perceived as inaccessible from outside, because they were surrounded by massive fortification walls and massive entrance gates, whose access was restricted. In the specific case of Sinuhe, after having crossed a first doorway (*wmt*), he is ushered to the columned hall (*w3hy*) and put on the way of to the inner palace (*w3t ‘hnwty*). A second portal (*mnt nt d’m*) mentioned in the text may refer

¹⁰⁶⁵ Gnirs 2009: 29.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Gnirs has recently analyzed passages rephrased in similar contexts where the emotional state of the official who was about to meet the king is described: *Ibid.*: 13 ff.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: 49.

to the canopy of the king's throne or the portal between the Pillared Hall and the Audience Hall, were the king seated.¹⁰⁶⁸

- The usage of term *pr-nswt*:

The literal translation of the term *pr-nswt*, “house of the king” makes the identification of the term with the actual “estate/domain” of the king.¹⁰⁶⁹ Both narrative expressions and titles show several institutions which were considered part of the *pr-nswt* or operated alongside it, such as the *pr-ḥd*, “the treasury”, the *šnʿ*, “storeroom”/“workshop”, the *ḥ3 n pr-nswt* or the *ʿryt*,¹⁰⁷⁰ “court” of the palace.

Judging from the context of usage of the term, the *pr-nswt* seems more largely concerned with the distribution and collection of goods. The function of the *pr-nswt* as a place for collecting a range of facilities (*b3kw*)¹⁰⁷¹ can be reconstructed thanks to various expressions in written sources. In both private and royal Middle Kingdom inscriptions *pr-nswt* appears as the source of goods to be brought to or taken from a person or another institution. The format of some private inscriptions, and especially that in *Rḥ-mi-Rʿ*'s tomb suggests that the *pr-ḥd* was the place where palatial entries were physically stored and that the *pr-nswt* was instead the centre where incomes and outcomes were administrated. Particularly *The Duties of the Vizier* in TT 100 (B.II.33) refer to the *pr-nswt* as centre of royal government where two important dignities of the administration, the vizier and the treasurer, performed their functions: controlling the incomes and outcomes of this institution, guaranteeing the security and justice as well as inspecting the personnel of the palace or organizing the army within it. Another role of the *pr-nswt* consisted in receiving reports from Egyptian provinces to update the government on happenings in outlying areas of the

¹⁰⁶⁸ Parkinson 1997: note no. 69.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Goelet 1982: 477.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Analyzing the various sections referring to the *ʿryt* in the tomb of *Rḥ-mi-Rʿ*, Van de Boorn claims to determine the exact position of the *ʿryt*, “being a kind of building erected on the front area of the *pr-nswt*” (Van de Boorn 1989: 84). As sources under discussion suggest a connection between the functions performed in the *ʿryt* and the activities in the *pr-nswt*, they do not establish with certainty the physical link of the two structures, although the location of the “court” near or within the *pr-nswt* seems likely. One can assume that the control of the activities within the *ʿryt* would be included among the administrative functions of the *pr-nswt*.

¹⁰⁷¹ Wb I: 428-29. For a detailed analysis of the usage of the term see Bleiberg 1981: 107 ff. and Bleiberg 1988: 157 ff.

state. Judging from the Middle Kingdom titles compound with *pr-nswt*, official activities referring to it involved the receiving of reports, the assessment of inventories (*irw*, “cattle-lists”, in: A.II.137) or the opening of sealed-doorways. According to *The Duties* in *Rḥ-mi-R*’s tomb (B.II.33, R7-8), the doors (*sb3w*) of it were opened for the free flow of traffic into and out of the *pr-nswt* after the vizier had exchanged reports with the treasurer outside this institution. The *ḥtmw*, literally meaning “something that is closed or sealed”, and mentioned in *The Duties* with the wider sense of “enclosure” or “gates” (B.II.33, R3), were other sections of the *pr-nswt*, whose closing was recorded and managed by the vizier.

Several other compositions refer to the *pr-nswt* as place where entries and outflows were recorded and physically stored. Inscriptions from the tomb of *’Inny* (TT 81 - B.II.6) for example refer to the *pr-nswt* as place of origin of provisions which would have enriched *’Inny*’s house and Papyrus Anastasi III describes it as place of destination for *inw*-delivery (B.I.67). A number of New Kingdom private titles refer to the owner as one who fills (*mḥ*) the *pr-nswt* with different kinds of supplies that range from food-provisions to precious stones (TT 63 – B.II.63; TT 76 – B.II.56; TT 93 – B.II.52; TT 107 – B.II.85).

Word *pr-nswt* in private titles can be compound with a type of *k3t*, “work”, whose nature is rarely specified and that had surely been ordered by the king or the central administration. The *imy-r k3wt (n) pr-nswt* was probably a carpenter in charge of different kinds of constructions on king’s behalf. The recurring connection of the term with the profession of *sš*, “scribe” (A.II.136; B.II.16; B.II.22; B.II.173; B.I.91), seems to confirm the prominent administrative function of the *pr-nswt*: the *sš n pr-nswt* was entitled to the registration of all the economic and bureaucratic operations of this specific palace or section of a wider palatial structure called *pr-nswt*. The treasurer (*ḥtmw*), another profession attached to the *pr-nswt*, was in charge of the administration of the entries which were physically stored in the *pr-ḥd* (A.II.10; B.II.71; B.II.79; B.II.83).

As written sources convey the picture of the *pr-nswt* as an administrative unit, the problem arises asking how this institution materialized in an actual building.

- The usage of term *stp-s3*:

Goelet's lexicographical study on the terms for the royal palace in the Old Kingdom has been very useful to investigate the original meaning of every word since the earliest period. In the case of *stp-s3*, the term did not have the proper sense of "palace" during the Old Kingdom, when, unlike all the other common nouns for king's residence during this period, it is never written with a *pr*-sign.¹⁰⁷² The presence of the *pr*-determinative is a post Old Kingdom phenomenon. The indefinite meaning of the noun in the earliest times depends on its own nature and etymology. As stated by Goelet,¹⁰⁷³ "the term *stp-s3* consists of two elements, both of which are relatively common as independent words: the verb *stp*, "to choose, select, cut up"¹⁰⁷⁴ and a noun *s3*, "protection".¹⁰⁷⁵ In many narrative passages of Old Kingdom texts, the verbal form *stp-s3* seems to mean something close to "protect" or "escort" and, when it is used nominally, *stp-s3* seems not to be a place-name, but rather an activity in which both the king and other people could participate.¹⁰⁷⁶ The term *stp-s3* seems to be used as place-name starting with the Middle Kingdom, although it probably developed from the Old Kingdom concept of *stp-s3* as a sort of protection offered to the king.¹⁰⁷⁷ Despite these changes, the term continues to be used in verbal compounds without the *pr*-determinative to mean "protect" or "escort" also after the Old Kingdom.¹⁰⁷⁸

While the usage of word *stp-s3* in Middle Kingdom texts seems more consistent in private titles rather than in narrative passages, it can be found more frequently in verbal compounds from the New Kingdom onwards. Apart from the inclusion of the *pr*-determinative around the beginning of the 12th Dynasty, another important change in the orthography after the Old Kingdom is the phrase *'nh wꜥꜥ snb*, "life, prosperity and health",¹⁰⁷⁹ added after the word, considered by Goelet a proof that the term had come to mean a type of palace since the Middle Kingdom.¹⁰⁸⁰ As Garry J. Shaw has recently pointed out, "the main issue (..) is whether the meaning of *stp-s3* truly does evolve to mean a physical place during the Middle Kingdom or whether it should be consistently regarded as

¹⁰⁷² Goelet 1982: 443.

¹⁰⁷³ *Ibid.*: 444.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Wb IV: 336, 1-2. Wb IV 339, 1 ff.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Wb III: 413, 6 ff.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Goelet 1986: 94.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Ibid.*: 94.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Goelet 1982: 443-444.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Wb I: 196, 10-17.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Goelet 1986: 95.

a type of activity – doing (royal) service”.¹⁰⁸¹ In most post Old Kingdom examples, the term does not necessarily refer to a physical building, but rather it seems to mean a sort of committee or councillor body composed by officials performing a royal service.¹⁰⁸² Of course such a meeting among those involved had to occur in a physical place (giving origin to the *stp-s3* as place with the *pr*-determinative), so that the term can be referred both to the location and the people. Particularly recurrent in Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom texts are those cases in which *stp-s3* is connected with verb *ḥsi*, “to praise” or expressions involving *mrwt*, “love”, in contexts suggesting that the “praising” and the “loving” were done by the king.¹⁰⁸³ The bestowal of king’s approval may have occurred on specific occasions and have taken place before an audience consisting of the royal family and high officials. Passages in both private and official inscriptions using variants of the expressions *wddt m stp-s3*, “what was ordered in the *stp-s3*” or *dddt m stp-s3*, “what was said in the *stp-s3*” emphasize the connection of the *stp-s3* with the royal decision-making process.¹⁰⁸⁴ Proclamation of orders and commands by the king could happen in the presence of councilors. Particularly one inscription from the time of Thutmose III records the speech of the courtiers during a royal audience in the presence of the king, suggesting that orders were not only drawn up in the *stp-s3*, but they were also approved by high officials (B.I.4). Narrative passages and private titles mentioning *smrw nswt (n) stp-s3*, “royal companions of the *stp-s3*” denote the *stp-s3* as a place or an activity in which more people - the kings and other officials - could participate.¹⁰⁸⁵ Such a kind of compounds with verbs as *dd*, “to speak” or *wd*, “to order” often involve the prepositional phrase *m ḥm n stp-s3*, generally rendered as “in the Majesty of the palace”:¹⁰⁸⁶ *wddt m ḥm n stp-s3*, “what was ordered in the Majesty of the *stp-s3*” and *dddt m ḥm n stp-s3*, “what was said in the Majesty of the *stp-s3*”. Garry J. Shaw has recently highlighted the difficulties of interpretation of this expression where the term *ḥm* would not refer to the king as physical presence and the acts of speaking and commanding could be issued by officials performing *stp-s3* in order to realize royal desire on the primary authority of the courtiers.¹⁰⁸⁷ The ambiguity of the meaning of the term depending on the context does not allow to precisely identify it with a specific structure, since the meeting or the council would take place somewhere, but not necessarily always in the same place.

¹⁰⁸¹ Shaw 2010: 183.

¹⁰⁸² *Ibid.*: 184.

¹⁰⁸³ Goelet 1986: 96.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Ibid.*: 97.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Goelet 1982: 470.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Shaw 2010: 175.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Ibid.*: 188.

A more explicit meaning of “palace” can be assumed by the usage of the term in those passages of narrative compositions where it is described as place from and to where people and products move, such in the context of gift-giving and exchange of commodities from foreign countries. The Gebel Barkal stele of Thutmose III (B.I.8) for example describes the delivery of Nubian taxes consisting of wood and other precious goods destined to the *stp-s3* while Hatshepsut’s inscription from Deir el-Bahari mentions the royal order to offer gifts *m stp-s3*, l. p. h. to the chiefs and gods of *Pwnt* (B.I.12). Particularly meaningful are those expressions in private inscriptions listing the freedom of movement of a person in the *stp-s3* among his faculties and honors. Courtiers can be described as *wstn rd m stp-s3*, “free of foot in the *stp-s3*” (B.II.24) or while having access to the sacred place within the *stp-s3*, *‘k hr dsrw m stp-s3 ‘nh wd3 snb* (Florence 2565 – B.II.69). These expressions suggest a location of the *stp-s3* near the inner and less accessible places of a possible palace.

- The usage of the term *hnw*:

The term *hnw* is one of the several words derived from a trilateral stem whose base meaning is “interior/inside”.¹⁰⁸⁸ Such a concept is evoked by the word in those contexts where it is connected by a genitival relation with another term for palace, to indicate the innermost part of some wider royal structure, such as the *hnw ‘h* or *hnw pr-nswt* probably referring to the inner part of the *‘h* or the *pr-nswt*. In Hatshepsut’s inscription carved on the blocks of the Red Chapel (B.I.9) at Karnak, the Queen is described while entering in the *hnw dsrw ‘h*, the association between *hnw* and *dsrw* suggesting that *hnw* may indicate a restricted section of the *‘h*, whose access was limited to few people.

As already observed by Goelet in Old Kingdom occurrences of the term, the commonest expressions have the preposition *m*, “in” or “out of” and *r* “to”, which are usually closely associated with a main verb of motion (*spr/‘k/‘w r hnw*).¹⁰⁸⁹ The prepositional compound *r hnw*, “to the *hnw*” is frequently employed in passages mentioning journeys commissioned by the king. The purpose of the trip is rarely stated and the point of origin of the trip is not given, so that what followed the official’s arrival at the *hnw* is generally unknown.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Goelet 1982: 4.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: 3-4.

Inscriptions recording an official's arrival to the *hnw* rarely give further indications of where the place might be. Some texts mention "downstream" or "northward" as direction of the official's travel, often by ship (in such case the verb used is *hdi*, "to sail"). It is not always clear from the context whether this term was used as designation of a royal building alone or meant the entire capital city. One of the most meaningful Middle Kingdom example of the usage of the term is the Story of Sinuhe (A.III.5), where *hnw* is often mentioned referring to a place from and to where the protagonist escapes and goes back. In such context the voyage to the *hnw* is a trip to Itjtawy, the royal capital of the 12th Dynasty. References to the *hnw* can be found also in a number of Middle Kingdom papyri from the town of Lahun, where it is again clearly referred to the town of Itjtawy. In these documents the recurring expression *wd3 r hnw*, "progress to the *hnw*" introduces despatches to be intended as by-product of festivals delivered to the *hnw*. The 19th Dynasty Turin Canon refers twice to the pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty as "kings of the *hnw* 'It-t3wy"¹⁰⁹⁰. Passages from the Duties of *Rḥ-mi-r*'s tomb (B.II.33) where the term is used as opposed to Thebes, referred to as *Niwt rst* or "Southern city", attest the usage of the word to indicate not only the palace, but the site of the royal residence and specifically Memphis.¹⁰⁹¹ The use of word *hnw* as apposition of the name of a capital city lasts in the Ramessid Period, when the term frequently follows the name of the new capital *Pr-R'mssw-mri-'Imn 'nh wd3 snb* suggesting its interpretation as "residence-city" (Louvre C 96, pAnastasi IV, pBologna 1094, pSallier I). Narrative texts and captions as well as private titles compound with *hnw* indicate that it was an extensive place, since they mention several departments and institutions operating within this institution. Examples of expressions containing prepositional compounds like *m hnw*, "in the *hnw*" or *n hnw*, "of the *hnw*" are from contexts associated with the *hnw*'s economic activity. The *'kw*, a word that functions as the generic term for "provisions"¹⁰⁹² including several commodities to be brought to the palace area, is compound with the term *hnw* in a number of expressions in Middle Kingdom inscriptions. In *The Duties of the Vizier* (B.II.33, R3) from the tomb of *Rḥ-mi-r*', the *hnw* is presented as place of arrival and departure of several kinds of commodities whose traffic was dealt by a vizier's messenger (*wpwty*). In the same composition the *hnw* is also described as location of the army, the organization of which is listed among the vizier's duties (B.II.33, R23). In addition to its aspect as the residence city, the *hnw* had a special administrative significance, most probably as the country's capital activity and the seat of government for several

¹⁰⁹⁰ Hayes 1953: 37. Gardiner 1959: V, 19; VI, 3.

¹⁰⁹¹ See paragraph above: § 2.8.

¹⁰⁹² Quirke 1990: 29.

purposes.¹⁰⁹³ The collected data suggest the translation “residence” for the *hnw* when used to mean the main centre of kingship and administration different from time to time in a specific period of the Egyptian history. While in a 12th and 13th Dynasty context, the word *hnw* is used in place of Itjtawy, during the 18th Dynasty the term comes to refer to Thebes and Memphis, working both as main governmental centers. In the Ramessid Period word *hnw* corresponds instead to Piramesse, the new capital city founded by Rameses II in the eastern Delta. First Millennium occurrences of the word present the *hnw* as place where the king would reside and govern for longer and shorter periods of time. In Late Period inscriptions *hnw* is often identified with Memphis, which worked as permanent residential city during the Libyan, Kushite and Saite reigns, as well as with other political centers like Piramesse (cited in the Gebel el-Silsilah stele no. 100 – C.I.2), which would have been used by Sheshonq I for a certain period of time. The inscription on the statue of Bentehor (Louvre A 83 – C.II.35) confirms this usage of the word, as it locates the residence of Nekau II in the Saite nome: *m hnw Nî.t*. Whether Nekau II would have actually resided at Sais during his 1st regnal year or he would have wanted to stress the connection of his Dynasty with its prototypical residence is difficult to ascertain.

- The usage of the term *pr-ʿ3*:

The *pr-ʿ3*, literally “the great house”, is the term with the closest connection with the king that became the designation for the ruler himself - “Pharaoh” - from the Late New Kingdom onwards.¹⁰⁹⁴ This later terminology probably developed from the usage of the term in connection with the living king since the Old Kingdom, when the titles compound with *pr-ʿ3* attest offices involved in the daily life of the king and his family.¹⁰⁹⁵ The term *pr-ʿ3* frequently occurs as an element in official titles, far outnumbering the other words studied here. Such titles are quite informative about the kinds of functions which were associated with the term. One aspect that distinguishes *pr-ʿ3* from the other words in this study is the extensive range of activities performed in the *pr-ʿ3* and offices attached to it.

¹⁰⁹³ Goelet 1982: 155.

¹⁰⁹⁴ GEG: 75. Osing 1982: 1021.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Goelet 1982: 540.

The most informative document as regard to the usage of the term *pr-ʿ3* in the Middle Kingdom is the 13th Dynasty Papyrus Boulaq 18 containing daily accounts of incomes and outcomes of the palace of Thebes over twelve days during which the court resided there (A.I.17). The papyrus lists different categories of people employed in the royal palace allowing to distinguish among different sections of the *pr-ʿ3* with different functions: the *šnʿw* or “provisioning-quarters”, the *pr-ḥd*, “treasury”, and the *wʿrwt*, or generally “sectors (of state)”. While analyzing all the sections of the document mentioning different beneficiaries and destinations of palace expenditure, Quirke has distinguished two main sections of the *pr-ʿ3*-palace: the *ḥnty*,¹⁰⁹⁶ which would have been the first and most official place for delivering supplies as the outer section of the palace, and the *k3p*,¹⁰⁹⁷ which would have been destined to host the royal family as the private quarter of the palace.¹⁰⁹⁸ Papyrus Reisner II (A.I.15) lists the transactions of the royal workshop (*wḥrt*) of the *pr-ʿ3*-palace of This during the 1st regnal year of Sesostri I. The activities of the workshop (*wḥrt*) in this series of accounts deal generally with carpentry and the recasting of metal tools. Both Papyrus Boulaq 18 and Papyrus Reisner II present the *pr-ʿ3* as a wide structure comprehending several sections with different functions and connect it to economic and administrative activities.

The middle of the 18th Dynasty witnessed the transition of *pr-ʿ3* (from the 12th Dynasty regularly provided with the formula *ʿnh wd3 snb*)¹⁰⁹⁹ as “great house” or “palace” to *pr-ʿ3* as “Pharaoh”.¹¹⁰⁰ In Horemheb’s decree (B.I.26) the word is used as direct object of verbs such as *šms*, “to follow/serve/accompany”¹¹⁰¹ *mki*, “to guard”,¹¹⁰² which allow the unique translation of *pr-ʿ3* as “Pharaoh”. In other passages of the same text, the translation of the term remains ambiguous; in those passages dedicated to the delivery of *b3kw*¹¹⁰³ the *pr-ʿ3* could be both the actual royal building as place of destination and the king’s person as beneficiary of such provisions. Other architectural sections such as the *ʿt ḥnkt*, “room of the offerings”, and the *wʿbt*, a place used for all the physical operations of preparation of foods and other kinds of services, are mentioned in connection with the *pr-ʿ3*. On such occasion

¹⁰⁹⁶ According to Quirke, the word *ḥnty*, literally meaning “front part” (Wb III: 301) would indicate specifically the outer part of the palace, in Quirke 2004: 26.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Wb V: 105.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Quirke 1990: 39.

¹⁰⁹⁹ See paragraph above: § 1.10.

¹¹⁰⁰ GEG: 75. Helck 1955: 112. Kruchten 1981: 28. For Middle Kingdom precursors of *pr-ʿ3* as “Pharaoh” see Blumenthal 1970: 26 (1.24).

¹¹⁰¹ GEG: 595. Wb IV: 482-3.

¹¹⁰² GEG: 570. Wb II: 160.

¹¹⁰³ Wb I: 428-29. For a detailed analysis of the usage of the term see Bleiberg 1981: 107 ff. and Bleiberg 1988: 157 ff.

the *pr-ʿ3* might be intended as wider building comprehending inner sectors with different functions, as well as the king's person to which these sections belonged.

The term keeps its original meaning of physical place in some New Kingdom documents describing the staying or the arrival of the king or a high official into the *pr-ʿ3*. Section R5 of *Rḥ-mi-r*'s inscription (B.II.33), for example, describes the entering of the vizier in the *pr-ʿ3* to greet the king, here referred to as "Lord" (*nb*). The *pr-ʿ3* is the building to where the vizier goes for his audience in front of the king. The sequence of the events described in the tomb is particularly interesting in order to understand the physical location of the *pr-ʿ3* in relation to the *pr-nswt*. The direction of the vizier's movement should be interpreted from the *pr-nswt* to the *pr-ʿ3*,¹¹⁰⁴ the first being likely an inner section of the latter.

As noted above, the usage of the term *pr-ʿ3* in Horemheb's decree suggests the architectural complexity of this entity (B.I.26). Occurrences of *pr-ʿ3* in official titles confirm the wide range of activities which were related to that term. New Kingdom titles such as *sḥ n pr-ʿ3 ḥḥ wd3 snb*, "scribe of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.", *imy-r pr-ḥḏ pr-ʿ3 ḥḥ wd3 snb*, "overseer of the treasury of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.", *idnw n3 n imntyw pr-ḥḏ n pr-ʿ3*, "deputy of the western treasury of the *pr-ʿ3*" or *imy-r šnwt n pr-ʿ3 ḥḥ wd3 snb*, "overseer of the granaries of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.", ascribe certain administrative and economic activities to the *pr-ʿ3* itself, performed by the official in departments like the *šnwt n pr-ʿ3*, "the granary of the *pr-ʿ3*" or the *pr-ḥḏ n pr-ʿ3*, "the treasury of the *pr-ʿ3*".¹¹⁰⁵ Other institutions such as the *t*, "chamber" or "storeroom"¹¹⁰⁶ and the *p3 ḥpš*, "armory"¹¹⁰⁷ can be related to the *pr-ʿ3* in *imy-r*-compound titles.

A number of titles simply refers to officials in charge of activities concerning the living king: the "overseer of the herds" (*imy-r ḥḥw*), "the overseer of the bowmen" (*imy-r pḏtyw*), the "cultivators" (*ḥḥwttyw*), the "butler" (*wb3*), the "sailor" (*w'w*), the "door-opener" (*wn-ʿ3*), the "herald" (*wḥmw*), the "stable-master" (*ḥry-ḥḥw*), the "sealer" (*ḥtm*), the "washerman" (*rḥtyw*), the "butler" (*wḏpw*), the "skipper" (*wḥmw*), the "scribe" (*sš*), the "servant" (*sḏm* 'š) or the "fan-bearer" (*ḥw*). In similar titles word *pr-ʿ3* might be referred to the physical place

¹¹⁰⁴ In his review of Van de Boorn's interpretation of *The Duties* Lorton states that the context of this session "actually cannot indicate an immediate entry in the *pr-ʿ3*" after the report to the vizier "since it is followed by a conversation between the vizier and the treasury". Lorton 1991: 291.

¹¹⁰⁵ Goelet 1982: 613-614.

¹¹⁰⁶ Wb I: 160.

¹¹⁰⁷ Wb III: 268: *ḥpš* as "army" with article *p3* from the New Kingdom onwards.

where the owner worked as well as to the king's person for whom the official performed his service. The use of *pr-ʿ3* in private titles provides support for relating *pr-ʿ3* to the affairs concerning the living king as well as to the activities connected with his funerary estate. The word *pr-ʿ3* is frequently linked to the concept of *ḥwt*¹¹⁰⁸ in titles such as *imy-r pr n t3 ḥwt pr-ʿ3*, “overseer of the house of the *ḥwt* of the *pr-ʿ3*” (B.II.77) and *ḥry k3wt n t3 ḥwt n pr-ʿ3*, “one who is over the workmen of the *ḥwt* of the *pr-ʿ3*” (B.II.59; B.II.60), generally referring to employees of the mortuary estate of the Pharaoh.¹¹⁰⁹ Other officials active in the *pr-ʿ3* were involved with escort and other service to the person of the king, as suggested by titles referring to activities performed in the Temple of the Million Years of the king (*n ḥḥ n rnpwt n pr-ʿ3*).¹¹¹⁰ All these expressions occur in context where a form of royally connected worship may be involved and the word *pr-ʿ3* is clearly used as synonymous for the king himself.

All these titles, those referring to “secular” duties as well as those mentioning ritual occupations, would seem intended to stress some sort of generic attachment of the inscription owner to the royal palace and the king's person. They are so various and they reflect such an extensive organization so as to lead to the conclusion that *pr-ʿ3*, whether intended as physical place, would have referred to a large multifunctional institution. The *pr-ʿ3* seems to have been a word used to refer to the royal building in a generic sense, as a place somehow connected with the king since the earliest period of the Egyptian history. After a careful analysis of the usage of the word *pr-ʿ3* in Old Kingdom inscriptions, Goelet concludes stating: “*pr-ʿ3* has a such close link with the living king, that it already shows a tendency towards becoming a word for the ruler himself, the “Pharaoh” of Egyptian texts from the 18th Dynasty onwards”.¹¹¹¹

Despite some of the titles compound with economic departments such as the “treasury” or the “granary” and offices for the scribal profession would suggest an administrative nature of the *pr-ʿ3*-palace, the word *pr-ʿ3* has virtually no use in economic or legal contexts outside its employment in titles. The *pr-ʿ3* is never mentioned as administrative or economic entity in its own right in New Kingdom official documents. A similar kind of titles referred to offices held by the officials in economic and administrative departments are most often

¹¹⁰⁸ GEG: O,6.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ullmann 2002.

¹¹¹⁰ Priesthood, escorts and other ritual positions were related to the *pr-ʿ3* since the Old Kingdom onwards. Goelet 1982: 585.

¹¹¹¹ *Ibid.*: 631.

compound with *pr-nswt* rather than with *pr-ʿ3*. It seems possible that word *pr-ʿ3* has been chosen instead of *pr-nswt* when needed to stress a more direct relationship of the inscription owner with the king. From collected data, *pr-ʿ3* might be considered a large multi-functional institution including several sections and departments with specific functions and generally intended as royal property: its close link with the ruler and the ambiguity of its meaning in different contexts would explain its transformation from word meaning “palace” to a term for “Pharaoh”.

The “Pharaoh” meaning of the term becomes final with the adoption of a specific compound to indicate the royal building, *pr pr-ʿ3/pr n pr-ʿ3*, literally translated “estate of the *pr-ʿ3*”, where *pr-ʿ3* as apposition of *-pr* must be intended here as “Pharaoh”. The expression *pr n pr-ʿ3* starts to appear in private inscriptions¹¹¹² from the reign of Amenhotep III and continues to be used until the late Ramessid Period together with the variation *pryt pr-ʿ3* recurring in a number of sources from the Amarna Period. *Pr pr-ʿ3* becomes the normal expression for “palace” in demotic texts, being used in a wide range of contexts, referring to the concept of “royal court” as group of people or to the royal building itself.¹¹¹³ The effective transformation of the *pr-ʿ3* meaning seems to be confirmed by the use of the word as apposition of the royal name already during the 22nd and definitely with the 26th Dynasty.

Variability in interpretation and translation of the word in different contexts is a meaningful factor as to understand the nature of the term *pr-ʿ3*. The possibility that the same word can refer both to the figure of the king as to the royal palace suggests alone the nature and meaning of *pr-ʿ3*, perhaps intended to indicate the royal building in its most generic and widest sense and its strict relationship with the king. Its intrinsic association with the figure of the king may be the reason that would have taken the term to mean the “Pharaoh” himself on the course of time.

¹¹¹² Expressions such as *imy-r pr n ʿt pr-ʿ3*, “overseer of the house of the room of the *pr-ʿ3*” (B.II.57) or *imy-r gs pr n pr-ʿ3*, “overseer of the side of the house of the *pr-ʿ3*” (B.II.75) mark the transition to the “Pharaoh” rendering of the word which will be definitive from the Late New Kingdom onwards, with the elaboration of the compound *pr n pr-ʿ3*, “house of the Pharaoh” to refer to the royal residence.

¹¹¹³ For the use of *pr n pr-ʿ3* as normal expression for “palace” in demotic texts see Late Period Chapter below.

Specific architectural sections associated with the royal palace:

- The $d3dw$ as specific section of the ' \hbar

The d3dw would have been a specific section of the 'h used on particular occasions connected to the appearance *h'í*, lit. "to appear in glory", of the king, his crowning or his enthronement.

Thutmose III is described as enthroned in the “audience hall”, *d3dꜣw n imꜣ wrt*, lit. “on the west” (Thebes), when he respectively announces an ambitious building project¹¹⁴ in the inscription of the king at the Festival Hall of Karnak (B.I.4):

c. 1) *hpr hmst nswt m d3dw n imy wrt m [ʼh].f* There occurred a sitting of the king in the
audience hall of the west in his [ʼh]

In her Coronation Inscription Hatshepsut declares that her father, Thutmose I, had designated her as the next king.¹¹¹⁵ After the establishment of the Queen in the *‘hnwty.f m ‘h.f* (B.I.11), a sitting occurring in the *d3dw n imy Wrt*, “the *d3dw* of the West”, is described:

I. 8-10) *dī.in ḥm.ī inī.tw n.f nswt špsw s'ḥw smrwr*
šnwt nt ḥnw ḥ3ty-' rḥtyw r irt.sn wdt ḥr dīt ḥm n
S3t Ḥr pn m 'ḥnwty.f m 'ḥ.f [mr(wt)] n 'ḥ(t) ḥpr
ḥmst nswt ds.f

I. 11) *m d3dw n imy Wrt iw rmtw ipw n ḥr ḥtw.sn*
m stp-s3

My Majesty has made come the royal nobles, the dignitaries and the companions, the entourage of the ḥnw, the principal chiefs to execute your command, in order to give the Majesty of Horus' daughter in his 'ḥnwty in his 'ḥ, beloved in the 'ḥ. There occurred a sitting of the king in the audience hall of the West. These people are on their bellies in the *stp-s3*

Political actions of that sort could be exercised in a great audience in the presence of the court, as suggested in the report of the installation of the vizier *Wsr* (TT 131 – B.I.11):¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹⁴ Gardiner 1952: pl. IV, col.

1115 URK IV: 257, 1.

¹¹¹⁶ URK IV: 1380: 12-16. Dziobek 1994: 75, pl. 81.

*ḥpr nswt ḥmst nswt m [d3dw n] imy-wrt nswt
b'ty Mn-ḥpr-R' rdī 'nh st3 [srw smrw nswt špsw]
s'ḥw st w'w imyw ḥnty wrw nw stp-s3 šnyt srw
Ḥr m 'h.f r nd ḥrt nswt ['nhw wd3 snb]*

A session of the king which took place in the [audience hall] of the West Side by king *Mn-ḥpr-R'* (=Thutmose III), given life. Draw of officials [and the friends, the nobles of the king], the dignitaries of the private audience room, the chamberlains, the magnates of the *stp-s3*, the entourage of Horus in the 'h to consult the affairs of the king [may he live, prosper and healthy]

The inscription recording the expedition to *Pwnt* of Queen Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari (B.I.12) tells the happening of a meeting of the king himself in the *d3dw* hall before the appearance (*ḥ'i*) of the Queen with the double crown on the throne of gold within the sacred interior (*hnw dsrw*) of the 'h:

*l. 1) rnpt 9 ḥpr ḥmst m d3dw ḥ'i(t) nswt m shmty
ḥr st wrt nt d'm hnw dsrw nw 'h.f st3 srw smrw
nw stp-s3 r sdm sšm n wdt*

In the 9th year the Queen was in the audience hall; appearance of the king in the double crown on the great throne of gold in the sacred *hnw* of his 'h; walk of officials and courtiers of the *stp-s3* to hear the guide of the command

The text carved on the northern wall of the middle colonnade of the temple of Deir el-Bahari (B.I.11) records a meeting of the king himself in the *d3dw* hall of the palace, in the presence of the king in front of people laid on their bellies:

*l. 10) (..) ḥpr ḥmst nswt ds.f
11) m d3dw n imy Wrt iw rmtw ipw n ḥr ḥtw.sn
m stp-s3*

There occurred a sitting of the king in the audience hall of the West. These people are on their bellies in the *stp-s3*

The introduction of the Building Inscription of Sesostri I (pBerlin 3029 - A.I.5) records “the appearance of the king with the double crown” and the “happening of a meeting in the *d3dw* hall”, which is presented as an assembly of the friends of the palace (*smrw nw stp-s3*). This inscription, together with the later sources mentioned above, shows the *d3dw* hall as meeting place and audience hall.

All these inscriptions establish a clear link between the two terms *‘h* and *d3dw*, locating the latter in a palatial structure. Other sources simply refer to the *d3dw* as place for royal and court sitting without any explicit reference to some form of palace.¹¹¹⁷ As recently suggested by Eileen Hirsch, “there could have been more than one *d3dw* hall simultaneously and some of these halls probably did not belong to the palace.”¹¹¹⁸ A recurring happening in sources mentioning a *d3dw* is the appearance of the king in this hall wearing his crowns in high official functions. The other main important point is the presence of the court forming council together with the king. The activities that took place in this space are not clearly specified: we can imagine the king giving statements and making decisions regarding specific matters. Eileen Hirsch has defined the *d3dw* as a “multifunctional hall inside a royal palace”, which might “be found in any palace in which the king resided”.¹¹¹⁹ I would like to highlight its connection with the *‘h*-palace, suggesting that this hall was mainly used on ceremonial occasions which took place in such *ritual* palace.

- The *w“w*:

In the 18th Dynasty, the mayor of Thebes *Sn-nfr* (TT 96 - B.II.26) tells us something about the function of the palatial *w“w*:¹¹²⁰

‘nhwy Hr m ‘h.f imy-ib ‘3 m pr-nswt ‘k hr nb.f Ears of Horus, Lord of his *‘h*, the great confidant
w“w in the *pr-nswt*, who enters to his Lord in private

Sn-nfr enjoys the privilege of meeting the king in private audience. While the *d3dw* might have worked as audience hall for political and ceremonial actions to be exercised by the king in the presence of the court, the *w“w*, which literally means “being sole”, might have functioned as place for private audience, as restricted area where authorized people could go.

¹¹¹⁷ For a complete overview of the sources referring to the *d3dw* see Hirsch 2009: 77.

¹¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*: 78.

¹¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 78.

¹¹²⁰ URK IV: 1430, 7-9.

Apart from this example, in Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom sources the word *w''w* is most frequently linked to the *stp-s3* or its personnel. *Ddw-Sbk* is described while entering in the *w''wt*, as *hnty st m stp-s3*, “foremost of position in the *stp-s3*”, to attend a royal audience in the presence of the king and other officials in his 12th Dynasty stele BM 193 [566] (A.II.111):

<p>c.6-8) <i>ph.f w''wt hnty st m stp-s3 hrw m sdm mdw w' hryw m b3h nb t3wy ht.f tw st sh.s df3 nswt.rt htryw swd nb 'h</i></p>	<p>He enters in the privacy foremost of position in the <i>stp-s3</i> during the day to hear the unique word of the chiefs in the presence of the Lord of the two lands <i>ht.f tw st</i> your council of the provisions of your king bequeath of the Lord of the <i>'h</i></p>
--	---

In his Building inscription (A.I.5) on Papyrus Berlin 3029, Sesostris I is described while taking counsel (*ndnd*) with his followers among whom the “companions of the *stp-s3*” are listed together with “the officials at the *st w''wt*”:

<p>l. 1) <i>h'i(t) nswt m shmty hpr hmst m d3dw ndnd imyw-ht.f smrw nw spt-s3 'nh wd3 snb srw r st w''w</i></p>	<p>Appearance of the king in the double crown. A session took place in the <i>d3dw</i>. One took counsel with his followers, the companions of the <i>spt-s3</i>, i. p. h., the officials at the place of privacy</p>
---	---

The *s'hw st w''w*, “dignitaries of the private audience room” are listed together with the *imyw hnty*, “the chamberlains”, the *wrw nw stp-s3*, “the magnates of the *stp-s3*” and the *šnyt srw Hr m 'h.f*, “the entourage of Horus in his *'h*” in the tomb no. 131 of vizier *'Imn-w-sr* (B.II.36) among people employed “to consult the affairs of the king”, *r nd hrt nswt*.

- The *Dsrw*

Word *dsrw* appears compound with *'h* in a number of New Kingdom and Late Period inscriptions, both official and private. In the Coronation Text of Hatshepsut from the Red Chapel at Karnak (B.I.9), a procession of the bark of the god Amun leaving the temple area

and entering the royal palace is described: the Queen and the bark move from the interior (*hnw*) of a place called *dsrw nw 'h.s*, “the sacred places¹¹²¹ of her ‘*h*’”.¹¹²²

<p><i>l. 9-12) wn.in hm Nb-r-dr shd.n hr.f r i3bt hr bi3yt r sb3wy imnt 'h n wsh't nt nn w3i-r.f nty hr m3' n tp itrw in rs nbt t3wy m hnw dsrw nw 'h.s</i></p>	<p>Then the Majesty, Lord of the Universe had his head inclined to the east making an oracle to the western double gate of the ‘<i>h</i>’ in the hall of <i>nn w3i-r.f</i>, which is on the bank of the head of the river; The Lady of the Two Lands came from inside the sacred places of her ‘<i>h</i>’</p>
---	---

Eileen Hirsch has recently suggested that word *dsrw* specifies a “sanctuary room” within the palace”, being the place where the sacred bark stationed before the procession, and more specifically a “sacred area connected with festivals and containing sacred room”.¹¹²³ *Dsrw* is also the name given to the place where the Queen made his appearance in the double crown at the presence of her courtiers in the inscription of the 9th year of Hatshepsut’s reign recording the expedition to *Pwnt* at Deir el-Bahari (Deir el-Bahari 3 – B.I.13):

<p><i>rnpt 9 hpr hmst m d3dw h'i(t) nswt m shmty hr st wrt nt d'm hnw dsrw nw 'h.f st3 srw smrw nw stp-s3 r sdm ssm n wdt</i></p>	<p>In the 9th year the Queen was in the audience hall; appearance of the king in the double crown on the great throne of gold in the sacred <i>hnw</i> of his ‘<i>h</i>’; walk of officials and courtiers of the <i>stp-s3</i> to hear the guide of the command.</p>
---	---

Therefore *dsrw* could be interpreted as space with ritual connotation involved in the procession of gods¹¹²⁴ and the appearance of the king and we can imagine that access to this area was limited to a restricted number of people, as suggested by the inscription on the cube statue Berlin 17272 (C.II.18) from the time of Osorkon III:

¹¹²¹ Lacau and Chevrier translate: ‘de l’intérieur des splendeurs de son palais’, in Lacau - Chevrier 1977-79: 101.

¹¹²² URK IV: 349, 10-12.

¹¹²³ Hirsch 2009: 76.

¹¹²⁴ A room similar to the *dsrw* is mentioned in the building inscription of Sesostri I which would have been placed in the “Chapelle blanche” of Sesostri I. An inscription on a pillar shows the god “Amun at the front of the *dsrwt*”. Eileen Hirsch has suggested that the building mentioned in the same inscription, called *Hpr-k3-R' ptry-k3ww*, was a ritual palace involved in the procession of the god, who paused perhaps in a *dsrwt* room. Hirsch 2009: 76.

bs hr nswt m w'w m33 'h m dsrw.s

The unique one who is introduced the king,
overseer of the 'h of the sacred places

A number of expressions in private inscriptions from the New Kingdom and the Late Period emphasize the owner's freedom of entering into the *dsrw* of the 'h, to be consequently intended as section of the 'h whose access was restricted to few people. The quite common title *m33 dsrw 'h* in Late Period texts was probably held by officials in charge of controlling this less accessible area of the palace.

- The 'ryt/'rryt

The 'rryt is an important architectural component of both temples and palaces.¹¹²⁵ When compound with a palace word, the most commonly used among the five terms in this study is *pr-nswt*. In the Middle inscription on stele GL WAF 35 (A.II.41) *Wp-w3wt-3* describes his reception at the palace: on that occasion the people at the 'rryt are mentioned while controlling his admittance to the *pr-nswt*.

l. 14-16) ist.i m hdi.i r nd hrt hnw pf wn hm.f

*htmw ntyw m pr-nswt 'nhw nt r 'rryt m33 st3.i r
pr-nswt (..)*

When I had gone north to offer salutations at the
hnw, that which belongs of His Majesty, the
sealers who are in the *pr-nswt* and the people at
the 'rryt see my admittance to the *pr-nswt* (..)

The connection of the word with the *pr-nswt* and its administrative role becomes clearer in the New Kingdom,¹¹²⁶ particularly from the tomb of *Rh-mi-r'*, where the 'rryt is described as place to where commodities are delivered (B.II.33, R29-R30):

¹¹²⁵ Generally used in reference to the religious architecture, it came to indicate the "porch" attached to a private house, a palace or an administrative building, in Spencer 1984: 168.

¹¹²⁶ "Increasingly from the Middle Kingdom onwards the 'rryt became an administrative department. This can be shown by the fact that it could own and control transport-berges". De Buck 1938: 91, 14.

R29-30) *nb innt (?) n 'ryt drpt nb n 'rryt ntḫ sdm ntḫ wn pr-nbw ḥn' imy-r ḥtm (..)* (?) everything delivered to (?) the 'rryt and everything offered to the 'ryt. It is he (the vizier) who hears concerning it. It is the vizier who opens the Gold House together with the overseer of the treasury

According to the following sentence (*ntḫ sdm*), where the vizier is said to have to hear concerning it and opening the “house of gold” (*pr-nbw*) together with the “overseer of the treasury” (*imy-r ḥtm*), one might speculate that the 'rryt have something to do with the *pr-nbw* and the *pr-nswt*.¹¹²⁷ Another passage of the same text refers to the vizier as one in charge of the appointment of the personnel of the 'ryt (B.II.33, R27-R38):

R27-289 *ntḫ dhḥ dhnw nb r 'ryt iw n.f šnw nb m pr-nswt ntḫ sdm wḏt nb(t)* It is he who appoints anyone to be appointed to the 'ryt. It is to him (the vizier) that anyone who has to be interrogated in the *pr-nswt* has to come; it is he who hears every decree (of the king)

Even in this section the physical connection between the 'ryt and the *pr-nswt* is not explicitly stated and can be only assumed on the basis of the vizier's responsibility of controlling its personnel and his duty of interrogating people in the *pr-nswt* in the following sentences. From these occurrences from *Rḥ-mḥ-r*'s tomb, the 'ryt can be interpreted as a proper department with its own personnel under the supervision of the vizier which receives some kind of commodities.¹¹²⁸ Whether it was located within the *pr-nswt* or in its neighbourhood is difficult to state with certainty.

The word is used with a juridical aspect in the Horemheb's decree in a passage drawing again a parallel between the *pr-nswt* and the 'ryt (B.I.26):

II,3) *sdmy(w) mdt pr-nswt hpw nw 'ryt* Obedient to the injunctions of the *pr-nswt* and the laws of the court

¹¹²⁷ Van de Boorn 1989: 82.

¹¹²⁸ *Ibid.*: 83.

The fact that the *'rryt* worked as office in which documents could be deposited can be illustrated by the Ramessid Inscription of *Ms* (B.II.157):

N,6) irw m snty rdī m 'ryt nt pr-'3

A copy was made and it was placed in the *'rryt* of *pr-'3*

The Middle Kingdom occurrence on the aforementioned stele GL WAF 35 of *Wp-w3wt-'3* (A.II.41) together with other contemporary and later examples¹¹²⁹ show that the *'r'yt/'rryt* could describe the area immediately in front of the door of a temple, a palace or a private house. Although *'rryt* retained its original interpretation, it started to be used with the extended meaning of department of justice and the official-administration somehow connected to the *pr-nswt* starting from the New Kingdom onwards. As suggested by Spencer in her lexicographical study on the Egyptian Temple, 'the general translations of "door" and "gate" are therefore unsuitable for *'rryt* and should be not retained' and the *'rryt* should be rather understood as an independent palatial department or block of buildings probably situated at the entrance of the *pr-nswt*.

- The *rwt/rwty*

In Middle Kingdom texts the term *rwt* starts to appear in the dual form *rwty*, with the added dual adjective *wrty*, to describe an important entrance to a palace or a temple.¹¹³⁰ In the Tale of Sinuhe the dual forms occurs in several passages. At the beginning of the story for example, the death of Amenemhat I is marked by the closing of the *rwty wrty* of the *hnw*:

*R 8-9) iw hnw m sgr ibw m gmw mrw rwty wrty
h̄tmw*

The *hnw* was in silence, hearts were in pain, the great double gates were sealed

¹¹²⁹ For an overall analysis of the occurrences mentioning the *'rryt* see Spencer 1984: 149 ff.

¹¹³⁰ *Ibid.*: 215

Later in the tale, when Sesostri I writes to Sinuhe to ask his return to Egypt, the protagonist says that he will kiss the ground at the *rwty wrty*.

B 188) ĩr.n.k ĩwt r Kmt m33k ĥnw ĥpr.n.k ĩm.f sn.k t3 r rwty wrwty Prepare your return to Egypt that you may see the *ĥnw* where you born, kiss the earth of the double gates

Finally, when Sinuhe has returned to Egypt and had his audience with the king, he came out from the *ĥnw* '*ĥnwty* and went through the *rwty wrty*:

B 283-5) prt.ĩr.f m ĥnw m 'ĥnwty msw-nst ĥr rdīt n 'sn šm.sn ĥ rwty wrwty I went forth from the '*ĥnwty*, with the royal children giving their hands. And we went through the double portal

The *rwty* is clearly connected to the word *pr-nswt* and used for its entrance in the Middle Kingdom expression *ĩw n.f wrw m kswm ksw r rwty pr-nswt*, "one to whom the great ones of the North and the South come bowing at the gates of the *pr-nswt*" and the New Kingdom title *ĩmy-r rwty pr-nswt*, "overseer of the doors of the *pr-nswt*". Horemheb's Decree confirms the link between the two terms, while describing the councilors doing obeisance at the gates of the *pr-nswt* (B.I.25):

I.9) ĩr.n.k ĩdn t3wy r 'ĥ'w rnpt 'š3 smĩ Now he acted as vicegerent of the Two Lands over a period of many years (and) reported
I. 10) [...] d3d3t m ksĩ r rwty pr-nswt spr.n.f wrw pđt Šm'w T3-mĥw 'w.sn pd m swd.f sw3š.sn n ĥr.f mĩ ntr [...] the councilors doing obeisance at the gates of the *pr-nswt*, the great ones of the Nine Bows approaching him, South as well as North, their arms outstretched at his encounter, and they paid honor to his face as (to) a god

The *Duties of the Vizier* from the tomb of *Rĥ-mĩ-R'* tells how the vizier meets other officials at the *sb3* of the *rwty wrty* (B.II.33). Here the vizier, the overseer of the treasury and every responsible functionary (*nb sšm*) exchange reports on the affairs of the *pr-nswt*. As suggested by Patricia Spencer, this usage of the *rwty* shows that it was regarded more as an

“entrance” than a “door”, as it could have a door (*sb3*) of its own.¹¹³¹ Old Kingdom sources confirm the fact that the *rwt*, in certain contexts, did not serve as simple entrance, but as an entrance area with a proper specific staff.¹¹³²

In the Saite Period the inscription on the statue CG 807 of *Hr-ir-R'*, a royal official in the *pr-nswt* (*wr nt pr-nswt*), allows to better define the role of the *imy-r rwt*, “overseer of the *rwt*”, whose essential tasks were to receive, listen, and please those who appealed at the presence of the king. The access to the king's presence depended on him who had a mediating function between officials and the king.¹¹³³

*Šms nswt bity tnw. i n hm.f m 3t r 3t ph.i i3t wr nt
pr-nswt rdit.n.f wi imy-r rwti wnm.n.i sw(r)i.n.i r-
gs nswt bity r' nb m 'rw st 3ht [shb.n ?] m33.n.i
št3w n pr-nswt kn hr hsw pr n-m h'wt m wd nt
ntr (?) ir.n.i dbhw n s n.f sprw hr nb t3wy*

For the service of the king of Lower Egypt, I am chosen of His Majesty at any time. I received the office of dignitary of *pr-nswt*. He (the king) appointed me overseer of the *rwti*. I ate and I drank to the king's side every day at the headquarters of the horizon. I saw the secrets of the *pr-nswt*. I entered full of praise and rejoicing for what I got out my powerful Lord commanded. I did what I asked for a person if, by petition to the Lord of Two Lands

Although frequently compound with *pr-nswt*, the *rwti wrty* can be combined with other words for palace, being indistinctly the entrance area in palatial and religious architecture.¹¹³⁴ A scene from the tomb of *Hr(i)w.f* (B.II.80) describes the appearance of the king at the *rwti wrty* of the 'h and later *Ns-p3-R'* (C.II.7) and *Nht.f-Mwt* (C.II.17) emphasize their freedom to enter in the 'h while the large remains outside its door (*rwti.s*).

¹¹³¹ *Ibid.*: 202.

¹¹³² Buongarzone 1995: 61.

¹¹³³ *Ibid.*: 62.

¹¹³⁴ Spencer 1984: 196 ff.

- The *wsḥt*

According to Spencer's lexicographical study on the Egyptian temple architecture, the term *wsḥt* was used since the Middle Kingdom for a hall containing columns, but it is not certain whether this was a hypostyle hall or a court with colonnades in a temple or a palace.¹¹³⁵

The text of Coronation of Hatshepsut from the Red-Chapel (B.I.9) mentions a royal palace (*ḥ*) attached to the temple of Amun at Karnak, called *ḥ n wsḥt*.¹¹³⁶ No remains of this palace have been identified, but Gitton has suggested that it stood in front of the 4th pylon of the temple of Karnak and that it was the entrance to the temple:¹¹³⁷ the addition of *n wsḥt* to the term *ḥ* may have been to establish the position of the palace in relation to a particular hall or court in the temple. Rameses III is equated to god Ra as one grown in the *ḥ wsḥt* in the inscriptions on the walls of his Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu (B.I.55). The term *ḥ* would seem to be referred to the palace attached to the southern court (*wsḥt*) of the temple of Medinet Habu:

ʿ3 nswt m mītt Rʿrd ḥt wsḥt.f

The great king is great like Ra in his *ḥ wsḥt*

More often in New Kingdom sources, especially with the 19th Dynasty, *wsḥt* occurs in its plural form in contexts from which it can only be deduced that *wsḥt pr-nswt* had become a standard phrase to describe the royal palace itself, the full formula being *n3 wsḥt pr-nswt Ḥr-pr ḥw wd3 snb* (pAnastasi V - B.I.70; pTurinA - B.I.86; pLansing – B.II.88). The expression in Papyrus Turin A implies that access to *wsḥt pr-nswt* was not always easy:

<p>3,10) <i>pḥ n3 wsḥt pr-nswt Ḥr-pr ḥw wd3 snb sw mī t3 dn h3 nt nw p3 m-ʿ nwyw ʿk3 wn wʿ ḥw iḥw h3 ḥr m(w)t</i></p>	<p>Who reaches the broad hall of the <i>pr-nswt</i> l. p. h. he is exactly like the weaves of the sea, one remains alive while a thousand die</p>
---	---

Summarizing the word *wsḥt* seems to be used to mean a colonnade hall which could be either a roofed space or an open court in a religious building as well as in a secular one.

¹¹³⁵ *Ibid.*: 77-78.

¹¹³⁶ Lacau - Chevrier 1977-79: 98.

¹¹³⁷ Gitton 1974: 63-73

- The 'h_nwty

The word 'h_nwty¹¹³⁸ occurs quite frequently in Middle Kingdom texts especially in private titles of high officials working in some department or office probably attached to the royal building. An explicit grammatical relation between the word 'h_nwty and one of the terms for "palace", that would let to better understand its location and function, is very rare. Some of the owners of the title *imy-r 'h_nwty*, "overseer of the 'h_nwty" were somehow employed in the *pr-nswt* such as *'Intf* (BM 572 - A.II.40) or *Rmny-'nh* (CG 20571 - A.II.101), as suggested by the combination with other epithets in their inscriptions.¹¹³⁹ The title *imy-r 'h_nwty n pr-nswt* registered in the later Onomasticon of *'Imn-m-ipt* (B.I.91) is mentioned by Gardiner as unique example explicitly referring to the 'h_nwty as section of (n) the *pr-nswt*-palace.¹¹⁴⁰

The usage of the word in the Tale of Sinuhe (A.III.5), where the 'h_nwty and specifically the *w3t 'h_nwty* is quoted as part of the 'h where courtiers were received and as private area of the palace to where Sinuhe was ushered during his royal audience, has induced Gardiner to render the term as "privy chamber".¹¹⁴¹ The same rendering of the term is suggested by the occurrence in Papyrus Boulaq 18 (A.I.17) of the title *imy-r 'h_nwty n k3p* referred to a pair of officials who were responsible for the interior arrangements of the private rooms of the palace and for deliveries and execution of orders concerning supplies for the residents in the private rooms of the building, the term *k3p* being referred to the "inner palace".¹¹⁴²

Moving to a New Kingdom example, the Coronation Text of Queen Hatshepsut reports on the sitting occurred in the *d3dw*-hall of the West after the establishment of the Queen in the 'h_nwty *m 'h.f* (B.I.11), probably to be intended as an inner restricted section of the palace.

A completely different nuance of the word is that suggested by the title *imy-r 'h_nwty*¹¹⁴³ compound with departments or palatial institutions like the *pr-hd* or the *pr-nswt*. Such titles

¹¹³⁸ Wb I: 226, 16. According to Gardiner's analysis of the origin of the word, 'h_nwty is probably a compound consisting of the word 'h, "region", "part" and the adjective *h_nw* connected with word *h_nw*, "interior", in Gardiner 1947: 44.

¹¹³⁹ *Ibid.*: 45.

¹¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*: 45.

¹¹⁴¹ Gardiner 1916: 67.

¹¹⁴² Quirke 2004: 27.

¹¹⁴³ For an overview of the available examples of the title see Gauthier 1918: 169 ff.

would seem to imply more participation of the *ḥnwty* in administrative business.¹¹⁴⁴ Among the Middle Kingdom epithets referring directly to the treasury (*pr-ḥd*), the *imy-r ḥnwty (wr) n pr-ḥd*, “(great) interior overseer to the treasury”, denotes that officials working for the treasury might be entitled *imy-r ḥnwty*.¹¹⁴⁵ Other Middle Kingdom titles, such as *imy-r ḥnwty wr n imy-r ḥtmt*, “chief interior-overseer to the treasurer” or *imy-r ḥnwty n imy-r ḥtmt*, “interior-overseer to the treasurer”, imply that at least sometimes the department under the treasurer employed several *imy-r ḥnwty*.¹¹⁴⁶ *Ht-sty-wrt*’s title *imy-r ḥnwty n pr ḥtmw*, “the overseer of the *ḥnwty* of the office of the house of the sealer”, in stele Louvre C 5 (A.II.69) suggests again an administrative function for the *ḥnwty* section.¹¹⁴⁷

- The *ḥnty*

Among the sources in this study more useful to understand the meaning and function of the *ḥnty* and the *k3p* as sections of the royal palace is Papyrus Boulaq 18 (A.I.17). While analyzing the different sections of the text, Quirke distinguishes between two main sectors of the palace (here mentioned as *pr-3*), the *k3p* and the *ḥnty*, which might be identified respectively with “the Inner palace” and “the Outer palace”.¹¹⁴⁸ While the *ḥnty* would have been the first and most official place for delivering supplies by means of intermediaries named *wdpw*, the *rmṯ pr mn*, “the people of the house of the nurses”, receiving *mnt* should have been located in the private quarters of the palace. Papyrus Boulaq 18 contains separate lists of people related to the royal palace generally divided in two groups: members of the royal family and officials.¹¹⁴⁹ Specifically section S11 lists separately the main people assembled in the royal palace in three columns: the functionaries listed after the vizier – *srw*, the members of the royal family and the servants – *rmṯ pr mn wt* – and the unnamed attendants.¹¹⁵⁰ According to Quirke, while the *ḥnty* – the “Outer palace”¹¹⁵¹ –

¹¹⁴⁴ See chapter 1, § 1.1.

¹¹⁴⁵ Quirke 2004: 57.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: 55.

¹¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*: 86.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: 26-7.

¹¹⁴⁹ Quirke 1990: 41.

¹¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 41.

¹¹⁵¹ According to Quirke, the word *ḥnty*, literally meaning “front part” (Wb III: 301) would indicate specifically the front part of the palace, in Quirke 2004: 26. For the meaning of *ḥnty* as “the front” of “the Outer part” of the palace building see Berlev 1960: 146-8.

would have been the area dedicated to the first group, the *k3p*¹¹⁵² – the “Inner palace” – would have been destined to the second one. As suggested by the author, while the *hnty* would have been the first and most official place for delivering supplies by means of intermediaries named *wdpw*, the *rmt pr mn*, “the people of the house of the nurses”, receiving *mnt* should have been located in the private quarters of the palace, to be identified with the *k3p*.¹¹⁵³ According to the text the *pr*-’3’s entries would have been delivered directly to the *wdpw hnty*, “the cupbearers of the Outer Palace”¹¹⁵⁴, while the two other groups were supplied directly from the *šn*’ or “provisions quarters”, suggesting a division of the palace building into two principal sections: “the official quarters at the front”, *hnty*, and the private quarters at the back provided with storerooms or general servicing quarters, *šn*’.¹¹⁵⁵

- The *k3p*

Section 9 of Papyrus Boulaq 18 (A.I.17) records several commodities destined to the queen, which were sent to the *k3p*, strengthening the association between this word and the royal family.¹¹⁵⁶ A pair of officials with the title *imy-r hnwty n k3p*¹¹⁵⁷ are described as responsible for the interior arrangements of the private rooms of the palace and for deliveries and execution of orders concerning supplies for the residents in the private rooms of the building, to be identified with the *rmt pr mn wt*, “the people of the house of the nurses”, mentioned in other sections of the same text.¹¹⁵⁸ Other Middle Kingdom titles such as *hrd n k3p* and *hk3y n k3p* suggest that the *k3p* was characterized by the presence of children and magicians,¹¹⁵⁹ that makes reasonable to regard it as the complex of the palatial inner rooms.¹¹⁶⁰ The function and the location of the *k3p* are suggested by an elaborate variant of

¹¹⁵² Wb V: 105.

¹¹⁵³ The literal translation of *kyw* would have been “people with access”, implying that their access was restricted to the area of the ’3 of the palace, in: Quirke 1990: 37.

¹¹⁵⁴ For the meaning of *hnty* as “the front” of “the Outer part” of the palace building see Berlev 1960: 146-8.

¹¹⁵⁵ Wb IV: 507.

¹¹⁵⁶ Quirke 1990: 40.

¹¹⁵⁷ For an overall analysis of the occurrences of the title *imy-r hnwty n k3p* in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions see *Ibid.*: 87-90; 106-107.

¹¹⁵⁸ See above. Quirke 2004: 27.

¹¹⁵⁹ Ward 1982: no. 1229, 1231; 1121.

¹¹⁶⁰ Quirke 1990: 27.

this title, *hrd n k3p n ipt nswt*,¹¹⁶¹ establishing a connection between *k3p* and *ipt nswt*, “the private quarters of the king”.¹¹⁶² The *hk3y n k3p* was probably intended to provide the *k3p* with books of the *hk3*-words, deemed necessary to the safety of the palace; he may have had the general responsibility of the health of people living in the royal building.¹¹⁶³ Considering the combination of the private titles in the same monument, it would help to understand the function and the location of the *k3p* within the palatial institution. The *iry ‘t n ‘h*, “overseer of the chamber of the ‘h” *Snb*, for example, is titled as *hk3y n k3p*, “*hk3y* official of the inner palace” in another passage of stele Leiden 46 - V 105 (A.II.134). We can assume that the function expressed by *hk3y n k3p* may have taken place in the *k3p* of the ‘h, the inner section of the palace.¹¹⁶⁴

- The šn’

The *šn*¹¹⁶⁵ is mentioned in Papyrus Boulaq 18 in connection with term *pr-‘3* as an area of “provisioning-quarters” where materials for meals were stored and prepared for the royal family (*rmt pr mn ‘wt*) and servants.¹¹⁶⁶ Of the specialized departments within the *šn’*, only the *t iw f*, “meat chamber”, is mentioned in Section 30 of the text; it was divided into a *3ht*, “stillroom”, for the *hnty* “Outer palace”, and a *3ht* for the *k3p*, the “Inner palace”.¹¹⁶⁷ The title *imy-r pr n šn’*, “overseer of the estate of the provisioning sector” is common in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions, but being the word *pr* without context, it is not possible to identify the *šn’* in question, which might be that of the palace as well as that of any other large institution or estate which had provisioning sectors.¹¹⁶⁸ In other Middle Kingdom examples, the word is used to mean proper “storehouses” where a series of commodities were collected and is explicitly linked to the *pr-nswt*. In a graffito from the Wadi Hammamat (Hammamat 87 - A.II.28) *‘lmn-ḥ3t* is mentioned as *‘prw m šn’w s m ‘kw n pr-*

¹¹⁶¹ Ward 1982: no. 1230.

¹¹⁶² The *ipt nswt* would denote the private quarters of the palace in which lived the queen and the royal children.

¹¹⁶³ Quirke 2004: 28.

¹¹⁶⁴ One of the servants represented on his stele worked in the ‘h with the title *hry-pr n ‘h*, “majordomo of the ‘h”.

¹¹⁶⁵ Wb IV: 507.

¹¹⁶⁶ Quirke 2004: 65.

¹¹⁶⁷ Quirke 1990: 41.

¹¹⁶⁸ Quirke 2004: 65. In essence the *šn’* was a place where materials for meals were stored and prepared; the range of work positions regarding this sector is captured in one Abydos stele of the 13th Dynasty in Oldenburg (Franke 2003). Each commodity was stored and prepared in a specifically designed unit called *t*, “chamber” (Berlev 1978: 235-259; Grajetzki 2001: 52-54).

nswt, “master of the stores, man of the provisions for the *pr-nswt*”. The section of The Admonitions of Ipuwer (A.III.8) reporting on the bad condition in which the *pr-nswt* pours during the First Intermediate Period refers to the *šn’w* as empty of what they should normally have: food (emmer, barley, fowl, fish and oil), fabric (clothes, linen) and metals (copper). The New Kingdom title *imy-r šn’y pr-nswt nswt-bity* in TT 84 (B.II.9) confirms the connection between the two terms *šn’* and *pr-nswt* as well as the administrative nature of this word for “palace”.

- The *w3hy*

According to Sections 36, 60 and 74 of Papyrus Boulaq 18 (A.I.17), the *w3hy* is a “columned hall” within the *pr-’3* in which groups of officials are supplied with special provisions (*’kw*):

’kw m w3hy pr-’3 ’nh wḏ3 snb

Provisions to the columned hall of the *pr-’3*, l. p. h.

Lists of over sixty people in sections 60 and 74 of the same text are introduced by the formula *imy rn srw pri r wnm t m w w3hy m hrw pn*, “list of names of the officials who were admitted in order to eat in the columned forecourt on this day”.¹¹⁶⁹ The *w3hy* is mentioned here as location for payment of food in the palace to king’s officials, to where a large number of people were gathered at one time.

In Papyrus Westcar (A.III.6) the *w3hy* is mentioned again as section of the *pr-’3* to where prince *Dd.f-Hr* introduces a living magician, *Ddi*, to entertain King Khufu. In this passage the *w3hy* is shown as an “audience hall” where people are received by the king, after having asked his permission.

8,9-10) *dd.in s3-nswt Dd.f-Hr ity ’nh wḏ3 snb nb.i
iw inn.i Ddi dd.in hm.f is in n.i sw wḏ3 pw
ir.n.hm.f r w3hy n pr-’3 ’nh wḏ3 snb*

And prince *Dd.f-Hr* said: 'Sovereign (l. p. h.), My Lord, I have brought *Ddi*.' His Majesty said: “go and bring him to me!” His Majesty proceeded to

¹¹⁶⁹ Spalinger 1985: 240.

the audience hall of the *pr-ʿ3*, l. p. h.

From Middle Kingdom occurrences of the term, it would seem that the *w3hy* was a great hall of great size and importance within the *pr-ʿ3* working as audience chamber¹¹⁷⁰ or meeting hall, where officials received their food-provisions.

- The *h3 n t3ty*

The *h3 n t3ty*, literally “the office of the vizier”, is often mentioned in contexts referring to the palace institution, although it does not have any grammatical connection with one of the five words in this study. This bureau is cited in section S 19 of Papyrus Boulaq 18 (B.I.17), where it receives the order for an increase in regular palace provisioning;¹¹⁷¹ its scribes convey messages concerning movements of foreign people at Thebes in Sections 44 and 69 of the same text. Papyrus Berlin 10470 (A.II.134), mentions the *h3 n t3ty*, “the office of the vizier” as place where a copy of the request concerning the she-slave girl *Snbt* was brought. Vizier *ʿImn-m-h3t* had to get the letter in his office which was probably connected to the *pr-nswt* of the previous line (l.6).

l. 6) <i>h3b pw hr rdît rh.sn st ih iri.k [hft] pr-nswt</i>	So runs what he reported. This is sent from them of it. Then you shall act..the <i>pr-nswt</i> .
l. 7) <i>mît n hnt inît m h3 n t3ty inît hri n tm ʿItf.f-snb on m [hrw]</i>	Copy of the leather roll which was brought from the office of the vizier, which the <i>hri n tm</i> (master of the..) <i>ʿItf.f-snb</i> brought on this day

The *h3 n t3ty* is presented here as location for delivery of reports from Egyptian provinces.

The starting expression in the tomb of *Rh-mi-rʿ*, *t3ty n niwt rst n hnw m h3 n t3ty*,¹¹⁷² “the vizier of the Southern City and the *hnw* in the bureau of the vizier”¹¹⁷³ mention the *h3 n t3ty* in relation to the *hnw*.¹¹⁷⁴ Unlike Van de Boorn argues in his discussion on *The Duties*,¹¹⁷⁵

¹¹⁷⁰ Quirke 1990: 40.

¹¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*: 117.

¹¹⁷² Van de Boorn 1989: 12, R1.

¹¹⁷³ the noun *h3* is regularly used in the Middle and New Kingdom to denote the office of an official. FCD: 183. Wb III: 221-22.

¹¹⁷⁴ Van de Boorn focuses on the relation of the *h3 n t3ty* with the *pr-nswt*, in Van de Boorn 1989: 20.

text does not indicate a physical relationship between the *ḥ3 n t3ty* and the *pr-nswt*. The location of the “office of vizier”, as well as the house of the vizier (*pr.f* in R5) within the *pr-nswt*,¹¹⁷⁶ is based on the author’s assessment that the vizier was its “managing director” and not on explicit expressions of the text.¹¹⁷⁷

- The ‘t

Word ‘t can be regularly used in expressions referring to different kinds of workshops as attested in Papyrus Boulaq 18 (A.I.17), where the term is used in relation to word *pr-‘3* to indicate ateliers for the preparation of food.¹¹⁷⁸ The ‘t *ḥwf* “meat chamber” is mentioned in Section 30 of the text as one of the specialized departments within the *šn’* or “provisioning-quarters” of the *pr-‘3*.¹¹⁷⁹ The ‘t is regularly compound with word *pr-‘3* in the title *iry ‘t n pr-‘3* which is commonly used during the 12th Dynasty¹¹⁸⁰ as well as in the New Kingdom titles *imy-r pr n ‘t pr-‘3*, “overseer of the house of the room of the *pr-‘3*” (B.II.57) and *wb3 nswt ‘3 n ‘t ḥnk pr-‘3 ‘nh wḏ3 snb*, “chief royal butler in the chamber of the offer (kitchen) of the *pr-‘3*, l. p. h.” (B.II.155). The ‘t *ḥnk*, “chamber of the offering”, as section of the *pr-‘3* is mentioned also in several passages of Horemheb’s decree (B.I.26). Title *iry ‘t n(t) ‘h*, “chamber-keeper of the ‘h” occurs many time in Middle Kingdom private inscriptions. As well as the aforementioned *iry ‘t n pr-‘3*, the title is composed of a *nisba* adjective derived from the preposition *r* and literally meaning “one who is in relation with” and the word ‘t, generally translated as “chamber” or “department”. The purpose for which the chambers of the ‘h or the *pr-‘3* were actually intended from time to time is not easily deducible from the context of the Middle Kingdom titles.

After having recognized the meaning of each term, one may ask how these institutions materialised in an architectural environment. While for the term ‘h, it has been possible to assume its identification with archaeologically known royal structures, recognition is much

¹¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*: 22.

¹¹⁷⁶ According to Lorton “if the vizier’s house had been located within the *pr-nswt*, a report to him on the latter’s condition would have been superfluous”, in: Lorton 1991: 292.

¹¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*: 22, 58.

¹¹⁷⁸ Quirke 2004: 66.

¹¹⁷⁹ Quirke 1990: 41.

¹¹⁸⁰ el-Sayed 2008: 269.

more difficult for other institutions. Firstly, we must carefully distinguish between the layout of a “typical” Middle Kingdom palace and that of the New Kingdom “royal city”,¹¹⁸¹ keeping in mind that we must base our considerations on those archaeological sites that have been actually investigated. A Middle Kingdom palatial site such as Tell Basta (PL. I)¹¹⁸² shows a juxtaposition of areas with different functions within the same structure. The various institutions recognized by this lexicographic study could perhaps be identified with each one of the individual sectors of this palatial building. Otherwise, “the separate palatial sites of Tell el-Amarna, dispersed over a vast area, may highlight some of the problems encountered when correlating textual sources and the archaeological evidence”.¹¹⁸³ This physical separation of the structures does not seem to correspond to an actual functional separation, since each of these complexes appears to have hosted more sectors with different functions. For example, the *pr-nswt*, for which it has been assumed an administrative function, may have formed a separate physical unit¹¹⁸⁴ or the division of a larger palatial structure. Jurman has rightly stressed that the Record Office outside the compound of the King’s House at Amarna¹¹⁸⁵ may have had a function similar to that suggested by the sources for the *pr-nswt*.¹¹⁸⁶ However, the *pr-nswt* could be also recognized in those sectors of the Great Palace used for entry and exit of facilities, labeled as *šn’w*, “magazines”, with reference to their practical function and as *pr-nswt* with reference to their administration. In written sources the treasury and the storerooms are often linked to the *pr-nswt* institution. Whether these facilities did form part of the palace complex, referred to as *pr-nswt*, or whether they were situated in the neighborhood of the palace unit is difficult to tell. Most of the available texts seem to refer to the palace with different words, in order not to identify a specific building or sector, but rather its function, different from time to time. Thus, for example, when the aim of the expression is to stress the relationship with the king and his property, the term *pr-’3* is preferred, and when the purpose is to emphasize the collective meaning of “court”, the term *stp-s3* is chosen. The identification of the *stp-s3* with the archaeological evidence is particularly difficult because of its double meaning, as corpus of people involved in the administration of the palace and the private service of the ruling family and as place that hosted this collective. Before becoming a common designation of the king from the late 18th Dynasty, the use of *pr-’3* for

¹¹⁸¹ Lacovara 1997: 4.

¹¹⁸² Van Siclen 1996: 239-243.

¹¹⁸³ Jurman 2006: 16.

¹¹⁸⁴ This interpretation follows Lorton’s view of the Duties, in Lorton 1991: 305.

¹¹⁸⁵ For the Central City at Amarna see: Petrie 1894. Peet - Woolley 1923: chapters I and II. Kemp – Garfi 1993. Kemp 1998: 17 ff.

¹¹⁸⁶ Jurman 2006: 16.

referring to the royal palace must be considered in relation to this transformation. Being the term that more than others highlights the relationship of a building with the king, it was probably intended for referring to the “royal palace” in the broadest sense of the term. In the ancient Egyptian “architectural vocabulary” the use of the term *pr-ʿ3* with reference to the civil architecture could be compared to that of *ḥwt* with reference to the religious building: as the word *pr-ʿ3* would have generally designate a “royal property”, the *ḥwt* would have mean a “religious building” (such as a temple/shrine or tomb/tomb chapel).¹¹⁸⁷ In the context of the Middle Kingdom palatial architecture, the entire complex of Tell Basta (PL. I),¹¹⁸⁸ or the 13th Dynasty palace in the area F/1 at Tell el Dab’a, could be identified with a *pr-ʿ3*-building.¹¹⁸⁹ Taking the site of Tell el-Amarna as example for the New Kingdom instead, each of the various palatial sites of the city, such as the North Palace,¹¹⁹⁰ the North Riverside Palace,¹¹⁹¹ the King’s House and the Great Palace,¹¹⁹² may have been understood as *pr-ʿ3*. *Pr pr-ʿ3* became the normal expression for “royal palace” by the Late Period, replacing the simple form *pr-ʿ3*, finally become a word for Pharaoh. In his work on the problem of locating the royal residence in Late Period Egypt, Jurman has exhaustively considered the difficulties of applying the modern terminology to the study of the ancient lexicography.¹¹⁹³ While considering these limits, he also acknowledged our dependence on the usage of modern vocabulary if we want to seek any correlations between our modern concept of palatial entities and the ancient one. The complexity of the vocabulary encountered within Egyptian texts parallels the actual terminology, word “palace” meaning both the physical place used as residence of a king/prince and all the people living in this, carrying out their activities in the wake of a king/prince and taking care of its administration and ceremonial. Also the word “court” may indicate the residence of a sovereign as well as the whole royal family and the entourage of a king/prince, the corpus of people involved in the administration of the palace and the private service of the ruling family. So for example word “court” in the modern expression “court chapel”, referred to as physical location of a specific section, has a different meaning from word “court” in “court ceremonial”, here

¹¹⁸⁷ GEG: O,6.

¹¹⁸⁸ Kees 1958. Farid 1964. El-Sawi 1979a. El-Sawi 1979b. Habachi 1975. Habachi 1982. Bakr 1982. Van Siclen 1985. Van Siclen 1996: 239-243.

¹¹⁸⁹ Bietak 1984: 325-332, figs. 4-5. Eigner 1985; 1996. Bietak 1996: 21-30, fig. 18. Arnold 1989: 77-78, fig. 6.

¹¹⁹⁰ Newton 1924: 289 ff. Whittemore 1926: 3 ff. Spence 1999: 14 ff. Kemp 1977b: 123 ff. Peet - Woolley 1923. Frankfort – Pendlebury 1933. Pendlebury 1951.

¹¹⁹¹ Pendlebury 1931: 233 ff. Pendlebury 1932: 143. Whittemore 1926: 3 ff. Kemp 1983: 18 ff. Kemp – Garfi: 1993.

¹¹⁹² For the Central City and the Great Palace see: Petrie 1894. Peet - Woolley 1923: chapters I and II. Kemp – Garfi 1993. Kemp 1998: 17 ff.

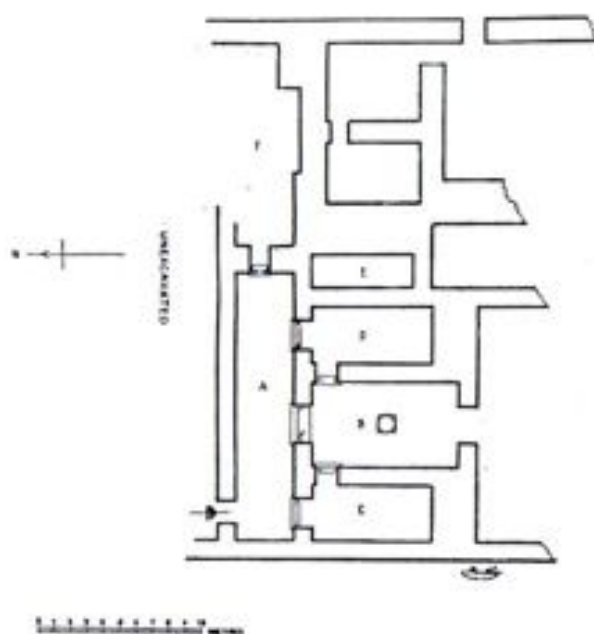
¹¹⁹³ Jurman 2006: 5 ff.

intended as group of people with specific rules of conduct. In the modern language as in the ancient Egyptian one, the context specifies the exact meaning of each word for “palace”. The study of the most common contexts has allowed to identify a meaning prevailing on others for each one of these words more than a definitive translation. The recognition of a preponderant significance and therefore of a specific function for each of these institutions, allows a more immediate interpretation of the texts or passages where the related word is used. In this sense, this study offers several possibilities for a more detailed analysis of each one of its individual aspects and hopefully aims to be the basis for future development of the Egyptological researches.

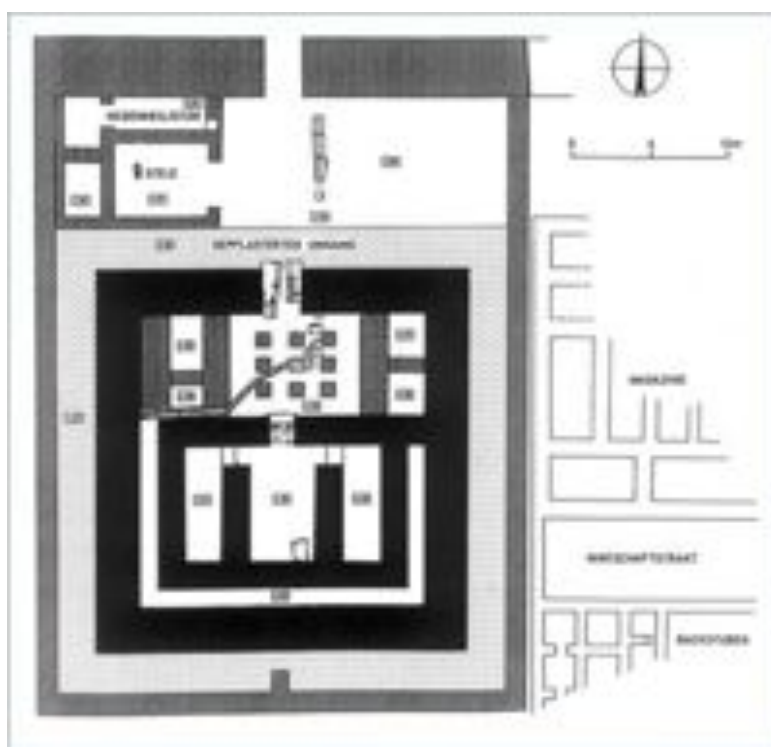




Plan of the site of Tell el-Dab'a.



a



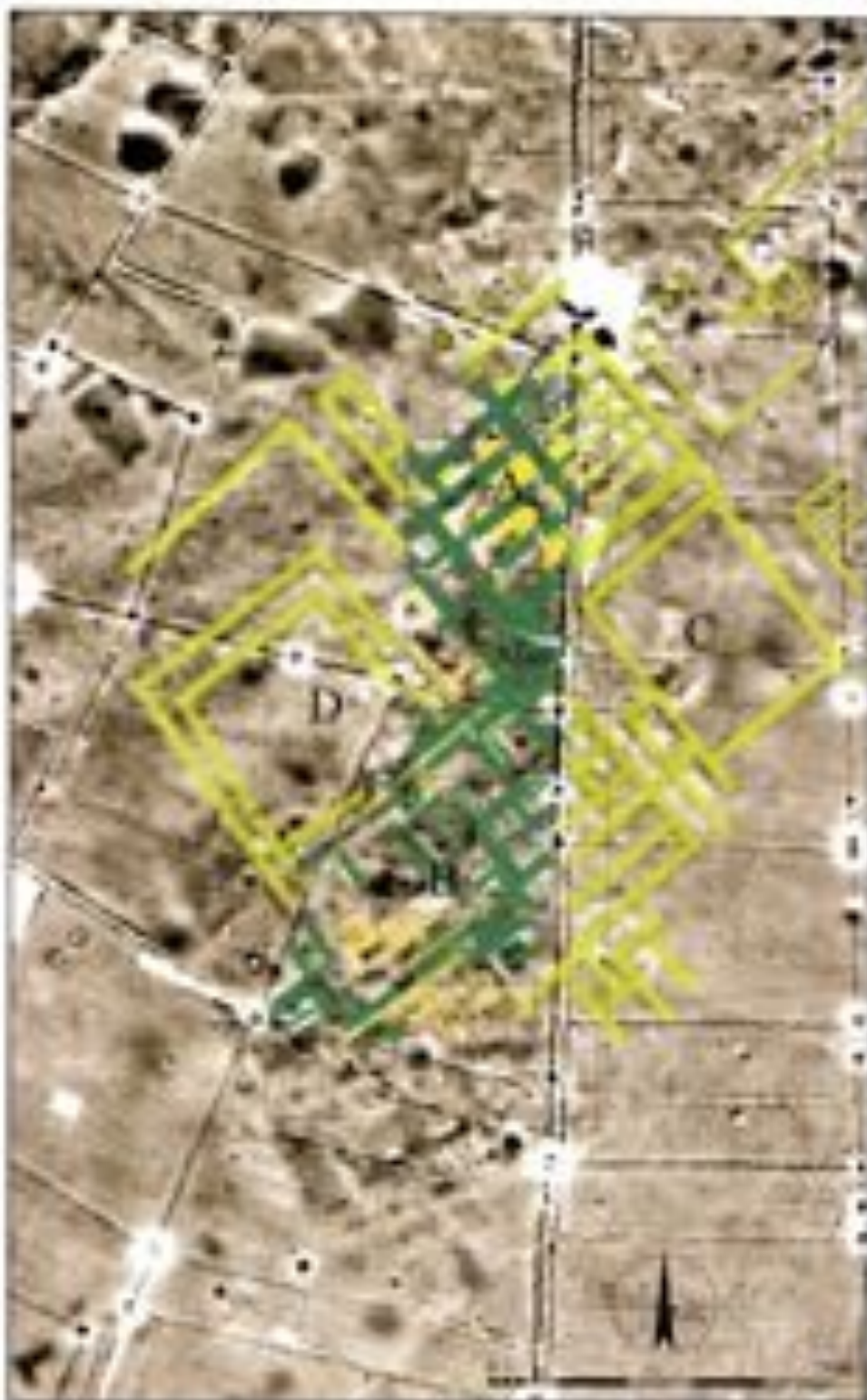
b

- a. Plan of the domestic structure excavated east of the temple of Amenemhet I at 'Ezbet Rushdi.
- b. The temple discovered in the 1950ies by Shehata Adam at 'Ezbet Rushdi.



B - entrance hall, T, T1, T2 - vestibules, W - court, M - women's hall, D - bedrooms, S - sitting rooms and bathroom (T)
 Ba - magazines, B - bathroom, W - kitchen, W1 - kitchen, W2 - kitchen, W3 - kitchen, W4 - kitchen, W5 - kitchen, W6 - kitchen, W7 - kitchen, W8 - kitchen, W9 - kitchen, W10 - kitchen, W11 - kitchen, W12 - kitchen, W13 - kitchen, W14 - kitchen, W15 - kitchen, W16 - kitchen, W17 - kitchen, W18 - kitchen, W19 - kitchen, W20 - kitchen, W21 - kitchen, W22 - kitchen, W23 - kitchen, W24 - kitchen, W25 - kitchen, W26 - kitchen, W27 - kitchen, W28 - kitchen, W29 - kitchen, W30 - kitchen, W31 - kitchen, W32 - kitchen, W33 - kitchen, W34 - kitchen, W35 - kitchen, W36 - kitchen, W37 - kitchen, W38 - kitchen, W39 - kitchen, W40 - kitchen, W41 - kitchen, W42 - kitchen, W43 - kitchen, W44 - kitchen, W45 - kitchen, W46 - kitchen, W47 - kitchen, W48 - kitchen, W49 - kitchen, W50 - kitchen, W51 - kitchen, W52 - kitchen, W53 - kitchen, W54 - kitchen, W55 - kitchen, W56 - kitchen, W57 - kitchen, W58 - kitchen, W59 - kitchen, W60 - kitchen, W61 - kitchen, W62 - kitchen, W63 - kitchen, W64 - kitchen, W65 - kitchen, W66 - kitchen, W67 - kitchen, W68 - kitchen, W69 - kitchen, W70 - kitchen, W71 - kitchen, W72 - kitchen, W73 - kitchen, W74 - kitchen, W75 - kitchen, W76 - kitchen, W77 - kitchen, W78 - kitchen, W79 - kitchen, W80 - kitchen, W81 - kitchen, W82 - kitchen, W83 - kitchen, W84 - kitchen, W85 - kitchen, W86 - kitchen, W87 - kitchen, W88 - kitchen, W89 - kitchen, W90 - kitchen, W91 - kitchen, W92 - kitchen, W93 - kitchen, W94 - kitchen, W95 - kitchen, W96 - kitchen, W97 - kitchen, W98 - kitchen, W99 - kitchen, W100 - kitchen.
 The rectangular structures marked 1, 2, 3 - are rooms, 4 - magazine from the street leading inside surrounding the walls.

The 13th Dynasty Palace in area F/I at Tell el Dab'a.



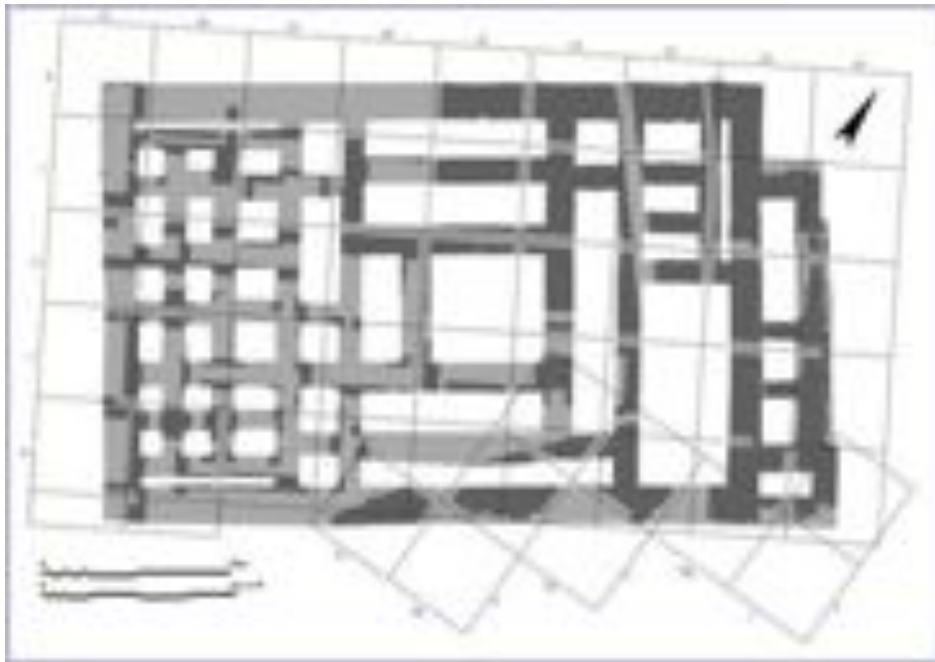
A 15th Dynasty Palace in area F/II at Tell el-Dab'a.



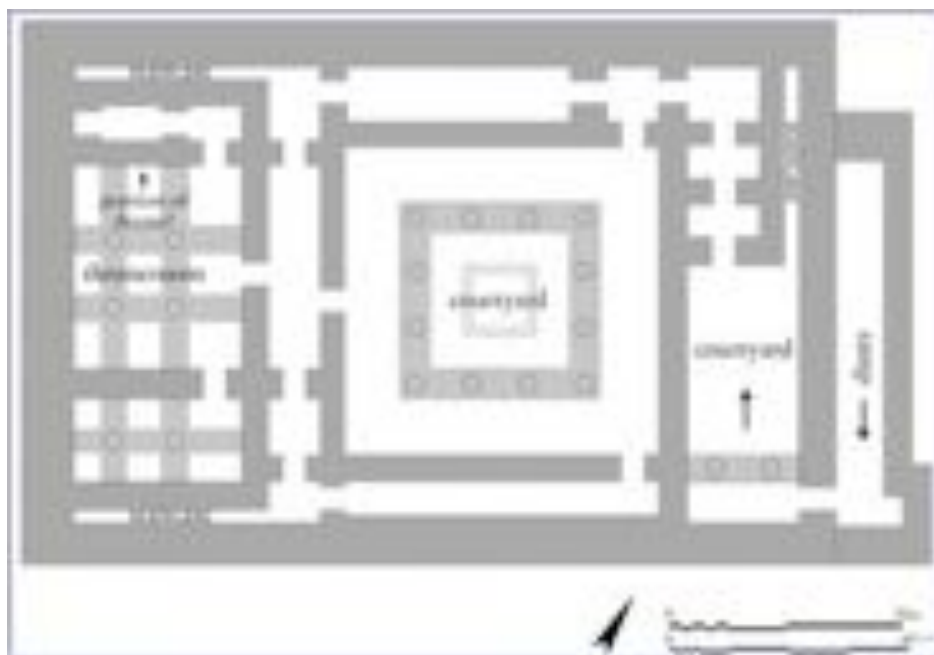
The Palace District of the Thutmosid Period at Tell el-Dab'a (Ezbet Helmi).
Geophysical survey.



The Palace District of the Tuthmoside Period at Tell el-Dab'a (Ezbet Helmi). Plan.



a



b

a. Palace F in area H/I at Tell el-Dab'a.

b. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Palace F in area H/I at Tell el-Dab'a.



a

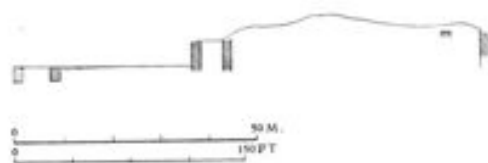
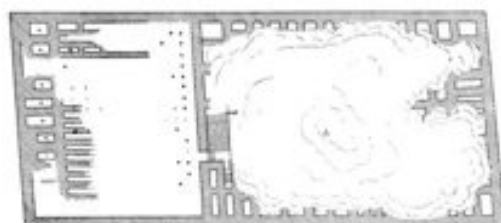


b

a. Palace G in area H/II-III and H/VI at Tell el-Dab'a.

b. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Palace G in area H/II-III and H/VI at Tell el-Dab'a.

PLATE X



a



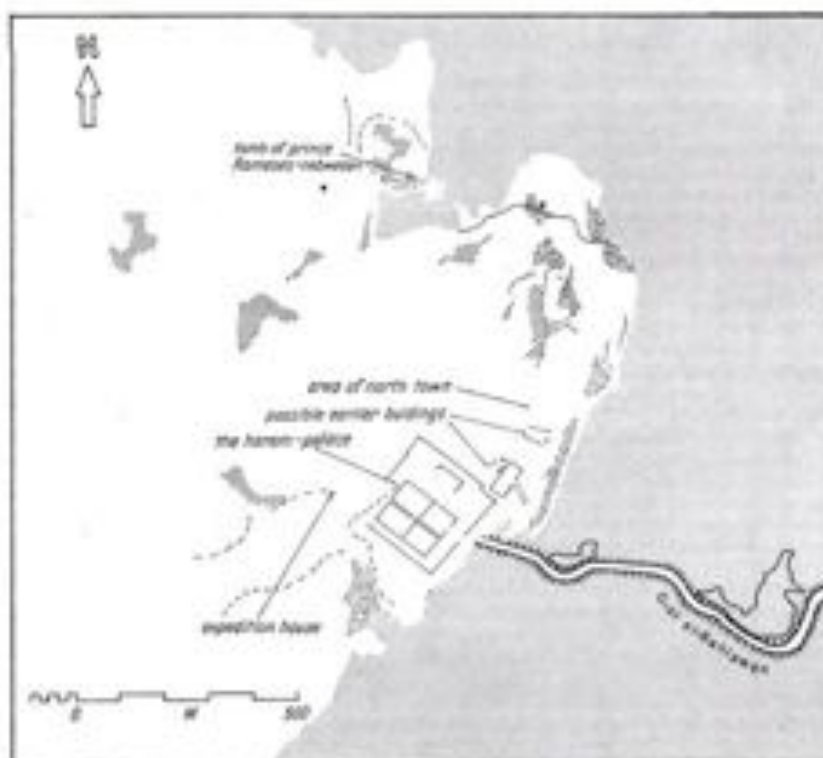
b

-
- a. Deir el-Ballas: South Palace.
 - b. Deir el-Ballas: North Palace.

PLATE XI



Reconstruction of the structure above the platform of the North Palace at Deir el-Ballas.



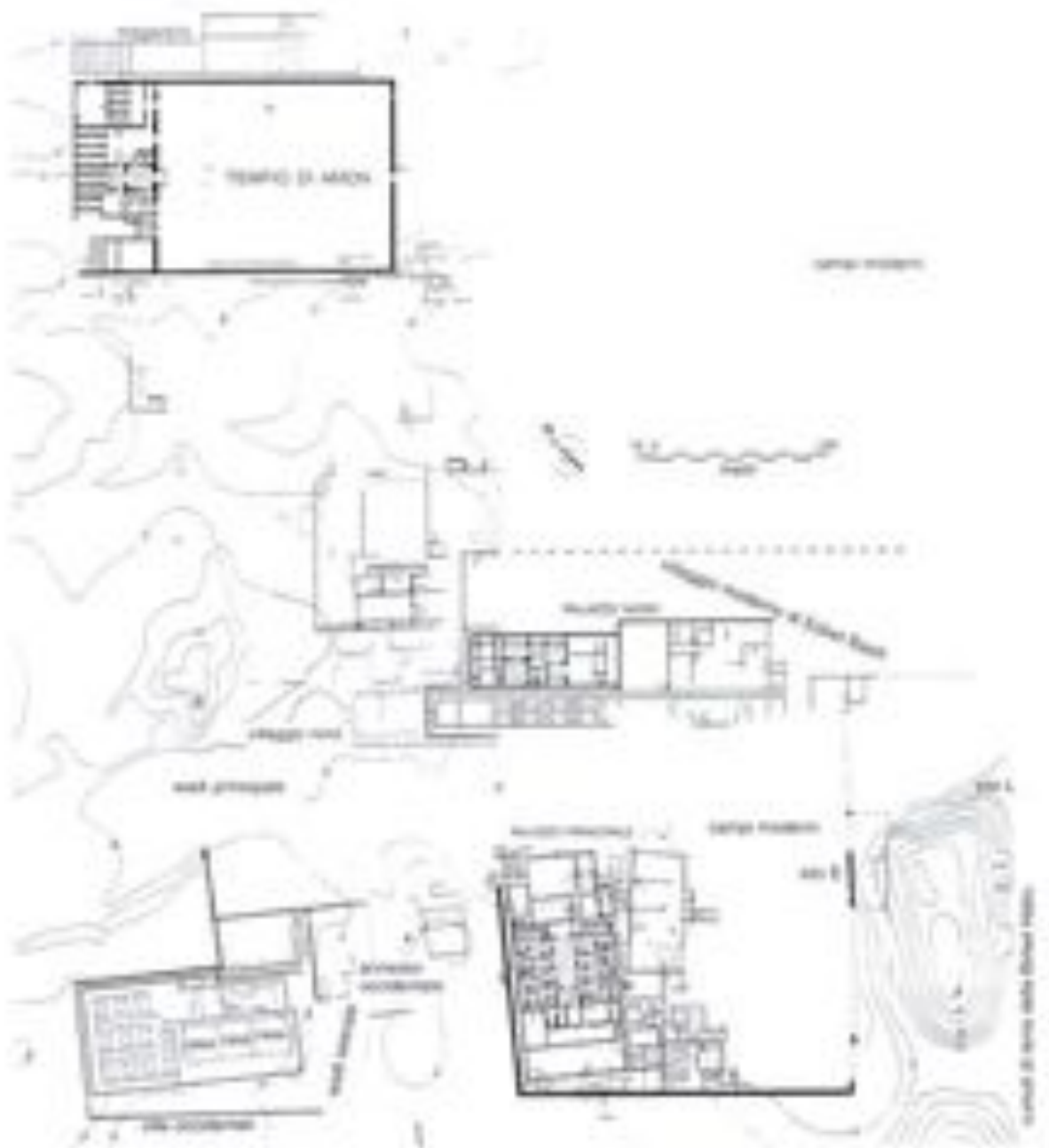
a



b

- a. The position of the harim-palace in the site of Medinet Gurob.
b. Plan of the harim-palace at Medinet Gurob.

PLATE XIII



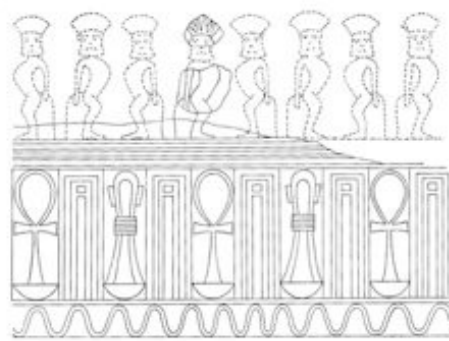
Malkata: plan of the site.



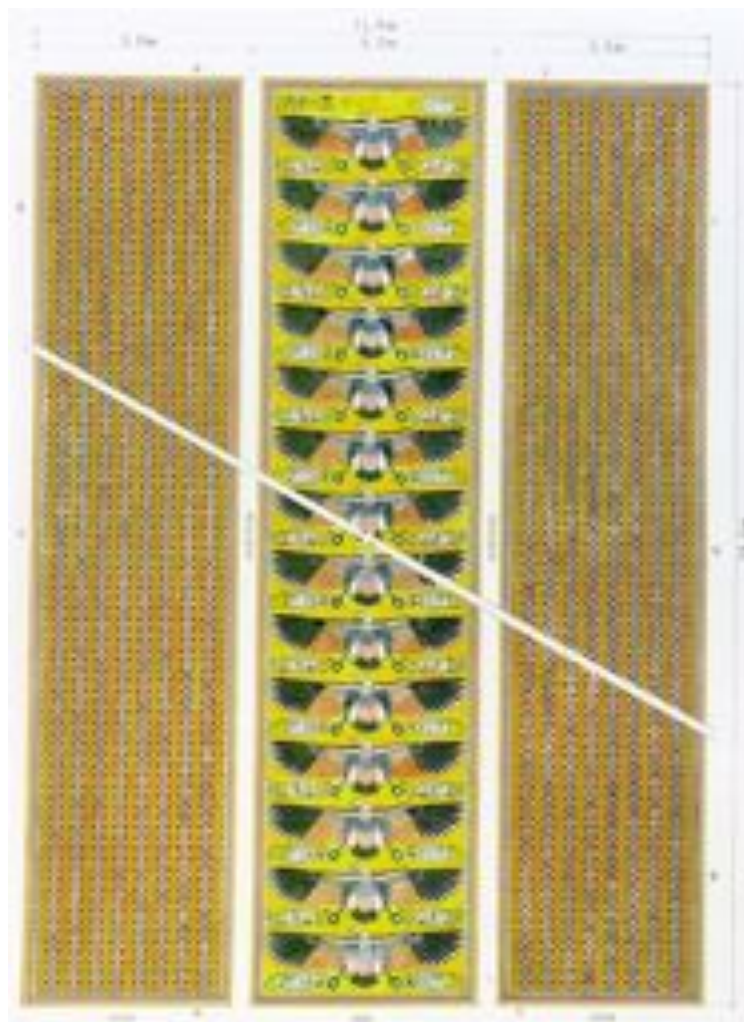
Malkata: the King's House of Amenhotep III.



a



b



c

-
- a. Detail of mural painting from the King's bedroom of Amenhotep III at Malkata.
 - b. Reconstruction of the mural painting from the King's bedroom of Amenhotep III at Malkata.
 - c. Reconstruction of the ceiling painting from Room H (= no. 4), second phase.



Room L5

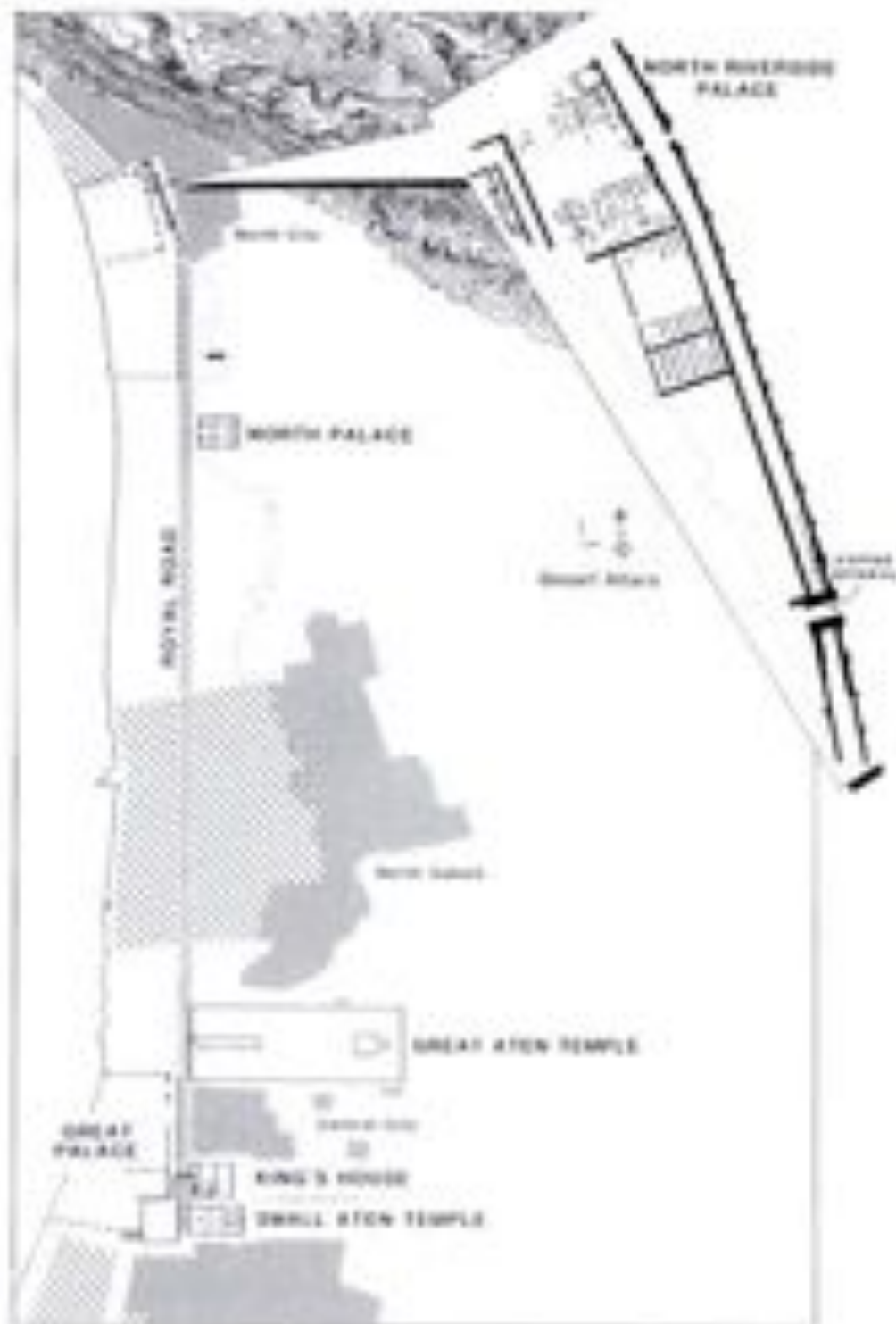


Room N5



Room B5

Geometrical decorative motifs in Rooms L5, N5, and B5 at the eastern side of the room H (= no. 4).



The main royal palaces at Amarna: The North Riverside Palace, The North Palace, the King's House and the Great Palace.



The North Palace at Amarna.



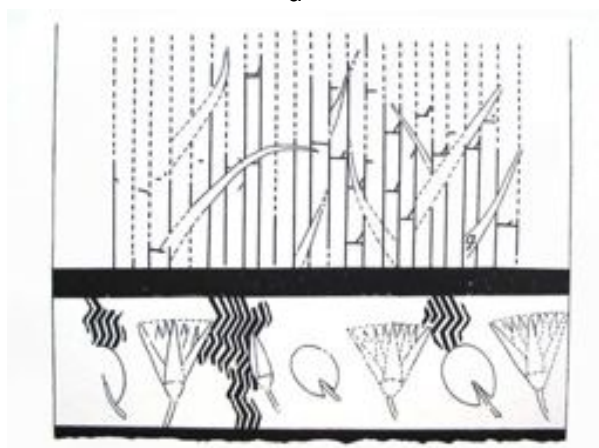
The Green Room in the northeastern section of the North Palace at Tell el-Amarna.



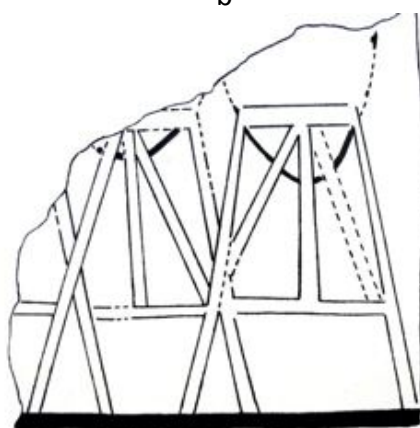
Fowl-feeding scenes and grapes from walls and ceiling of the North-East court of the North Palace at Amarna.



a



b

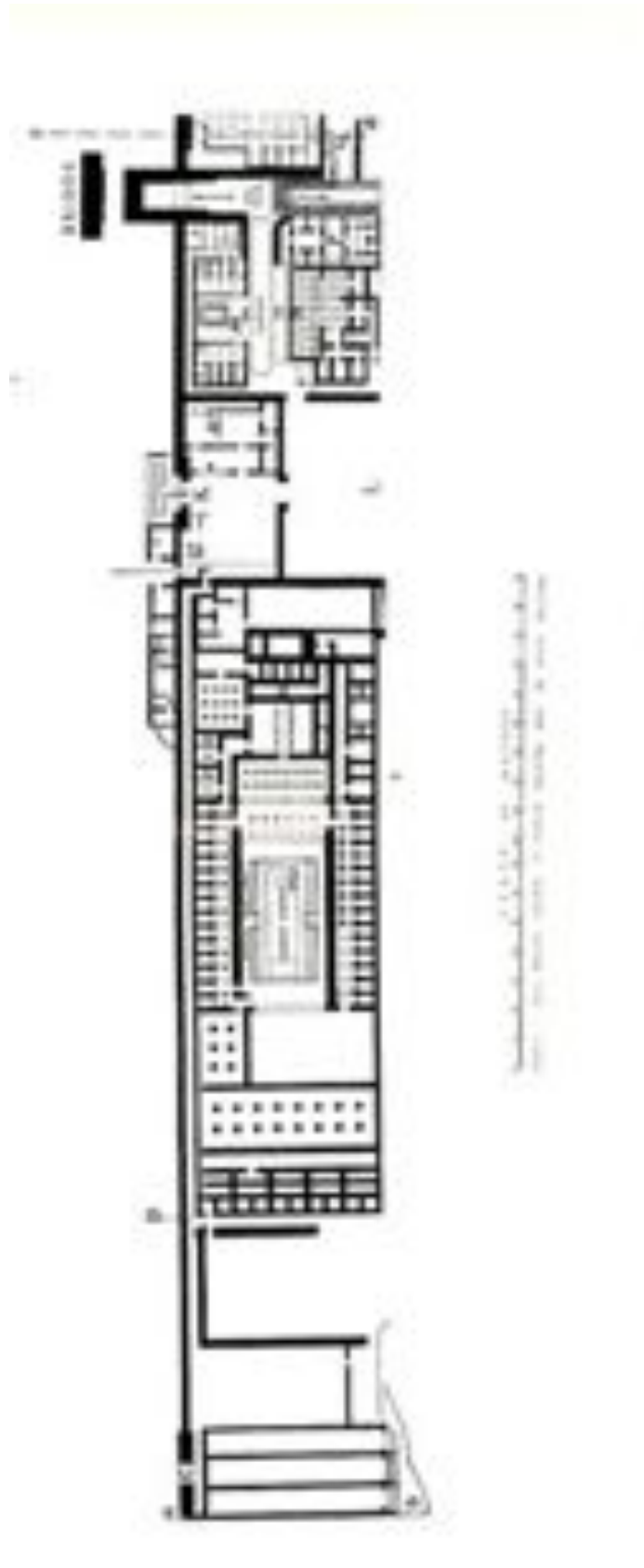


c

-
- a. Ceiling decoration from the King's Apartment in the North Palace at Amarna.
 - b. Waterbank design from the outer wall of the Cattle/Gazelle Garden of the North Palace at Amarna.
 - b. Jars on stands from the Throne Room of the North Palace at Amarna.



The Great Palace in the Central City at Tell el-Amarna.



The Northern Harim within the Great Palace at Amarna.

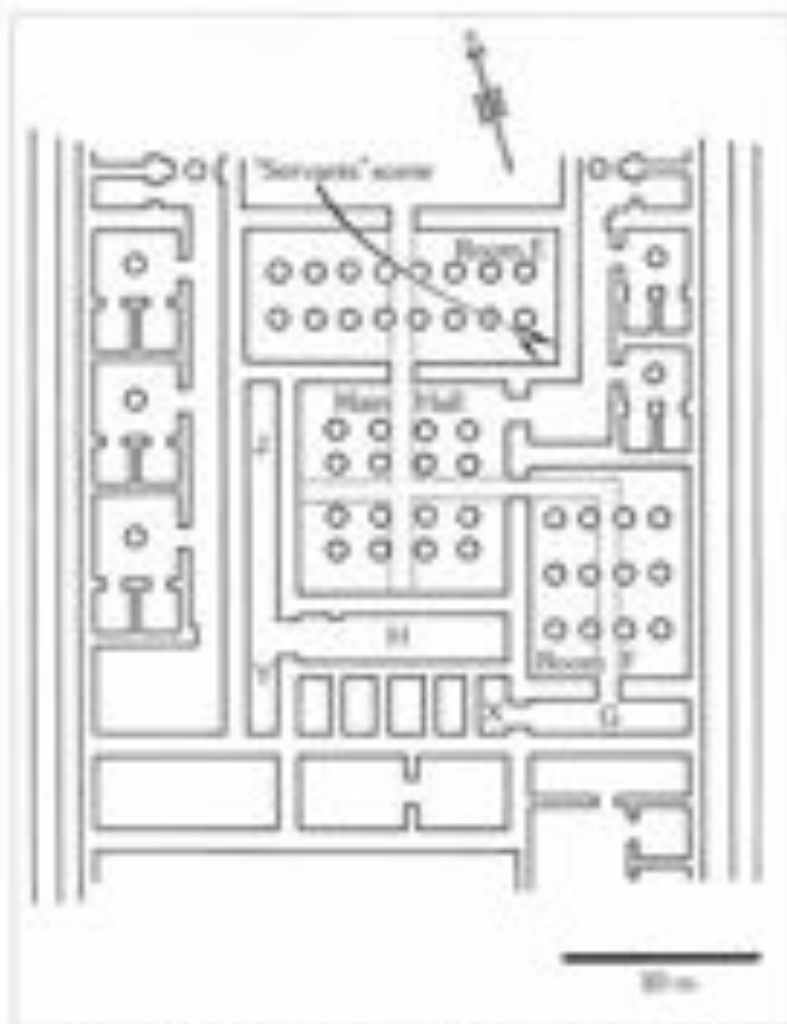


Fig. 22. Floor and wall paintings in the Throne Room Complex.

North Harim (after B.A. 79, 195, fig. 1).

Rooms E, F and Main Hall. Floors showing ponds bordered by ducks and marsh plants (later borders, bouquets and offerings, or aquatic scenes on stands). Rooms connected by a capstone pathway, see vol. pls 1-3, pls 2-4, figs 12-17.

Room E. 'Servants' wall painting, see figs 21-2.

Room G. Remains of floor design, probably bouquets and offerings on stands.

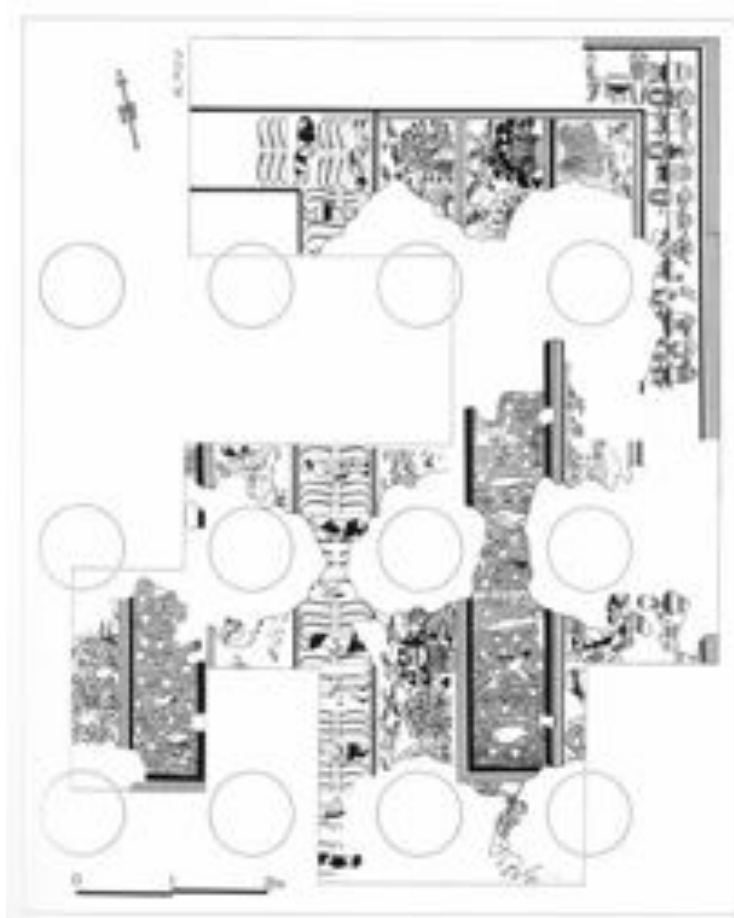
Corridor H. Floor showing grape-vine bordered by bouquets and fruit on stands, see fig. 18.

Corridor J. Floor showing series of clumps of plants arranged in pairs, between coloured borders, see fig. 28.

Room K. All five of the southern cubicles appear to have had painted floors. Only the southernmost one had a recognizable design, showing papyrus plants, see fig. 19.

Room L. Floor showing duck and flower design.

Floor and wall paintings in the Throne Room complex in the North Harim of the Great Palace at Amarna.



a



b



c

-
- a. Pavement design from Room F in the North Harim of the Great Palace at Amarna.
 b. Details of the floor decoration showing ponds bordered by ducks and marsh plants in the North Harim within the Great Palace at Amarna.
 c. Captives pathway linking the three central halls of the Throne Room complex in the North Harim within the Great Palace at Amarna.

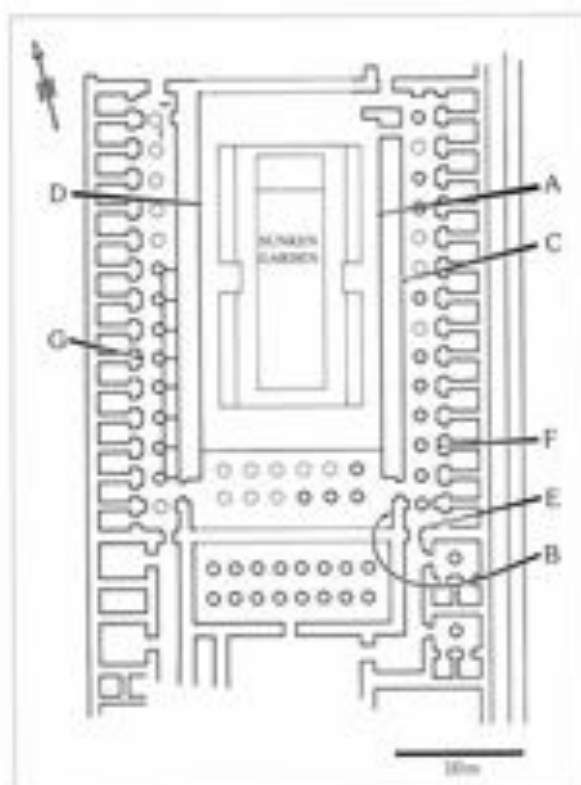
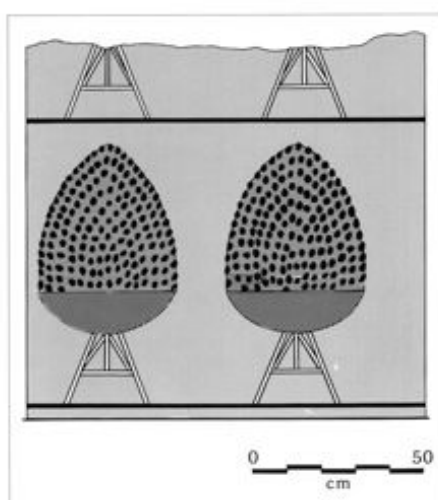


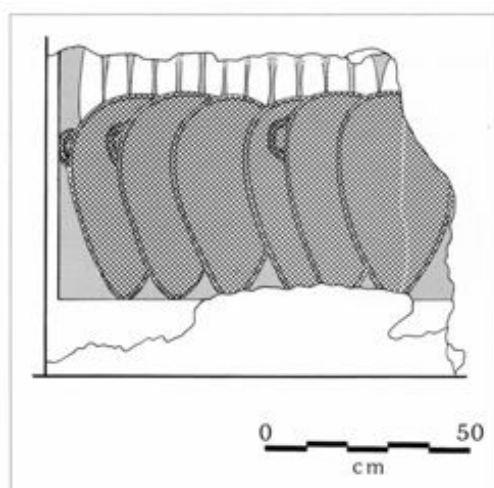
Fig. 1. Garden Court showing where designs on wall plaster were found.

- A. East screen wall, outside. Nilotic design, see fig. 6.
- B. Columned Mall, east wall. Human and animal scene.
- C. East screen wall, inside. False-door dials, over which possibly produce on stands, see fig. 7.
- D. West screen wall, outside. Dark brown objects on yellow ground.
- E. South wall, east colonnade. Produce on stands, see fig. 8.
- F. Outside east cubicles. Produce on stands and storage vessels, see figs 9-10.
- G. Outside west cubicles. False-door dials.

a

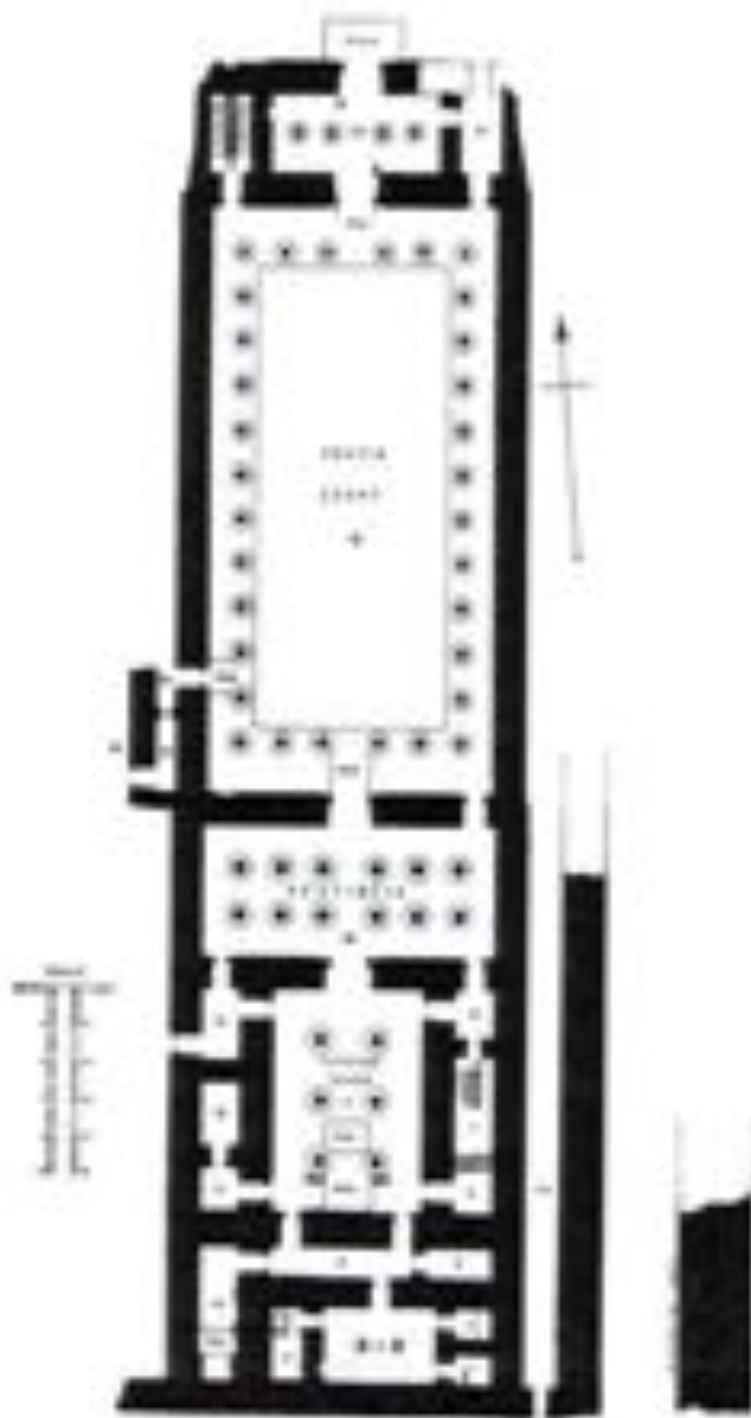


b



c

a. Garden court of the North Harim at Tell el-Amarna. Location of the wall paintings.
b + c. Grapes on stands and selaed pots from the colonnade of the Garden Court.



Memphis. The Palace of Merenptah.

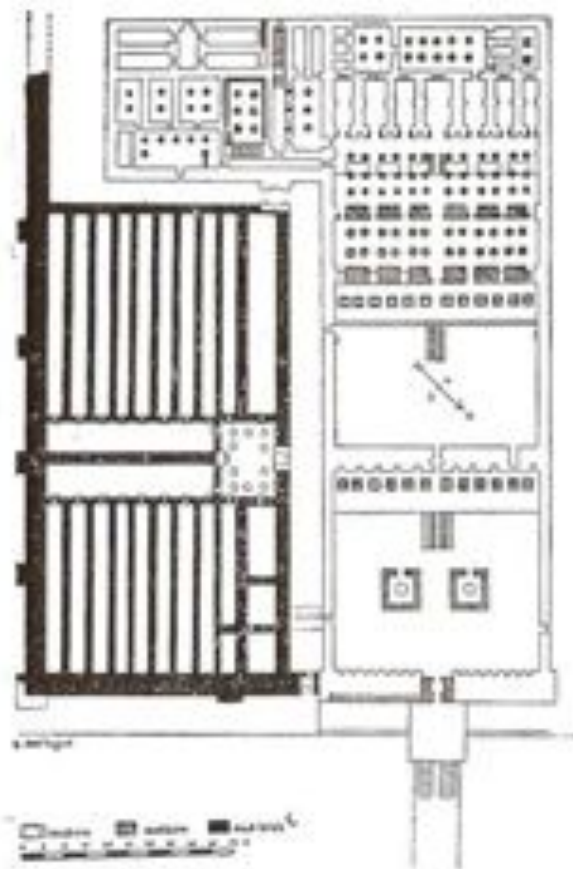


Memphis. Reconstruction of the Throne Room of the Palace of Merenptah.

PLATE XXIX

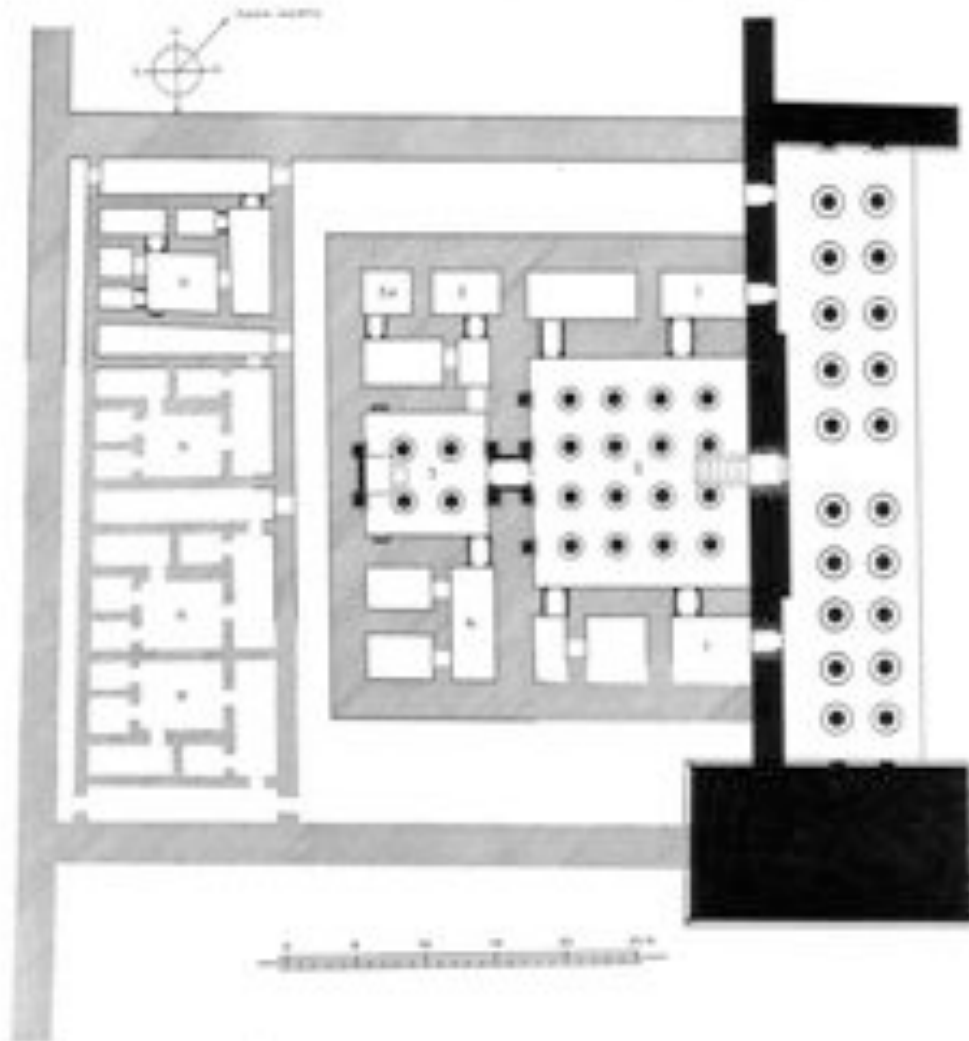


a

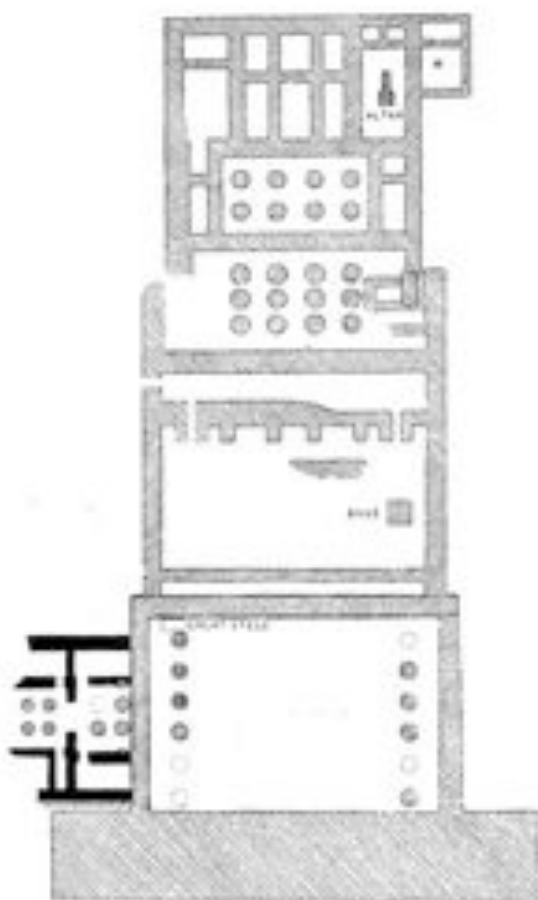


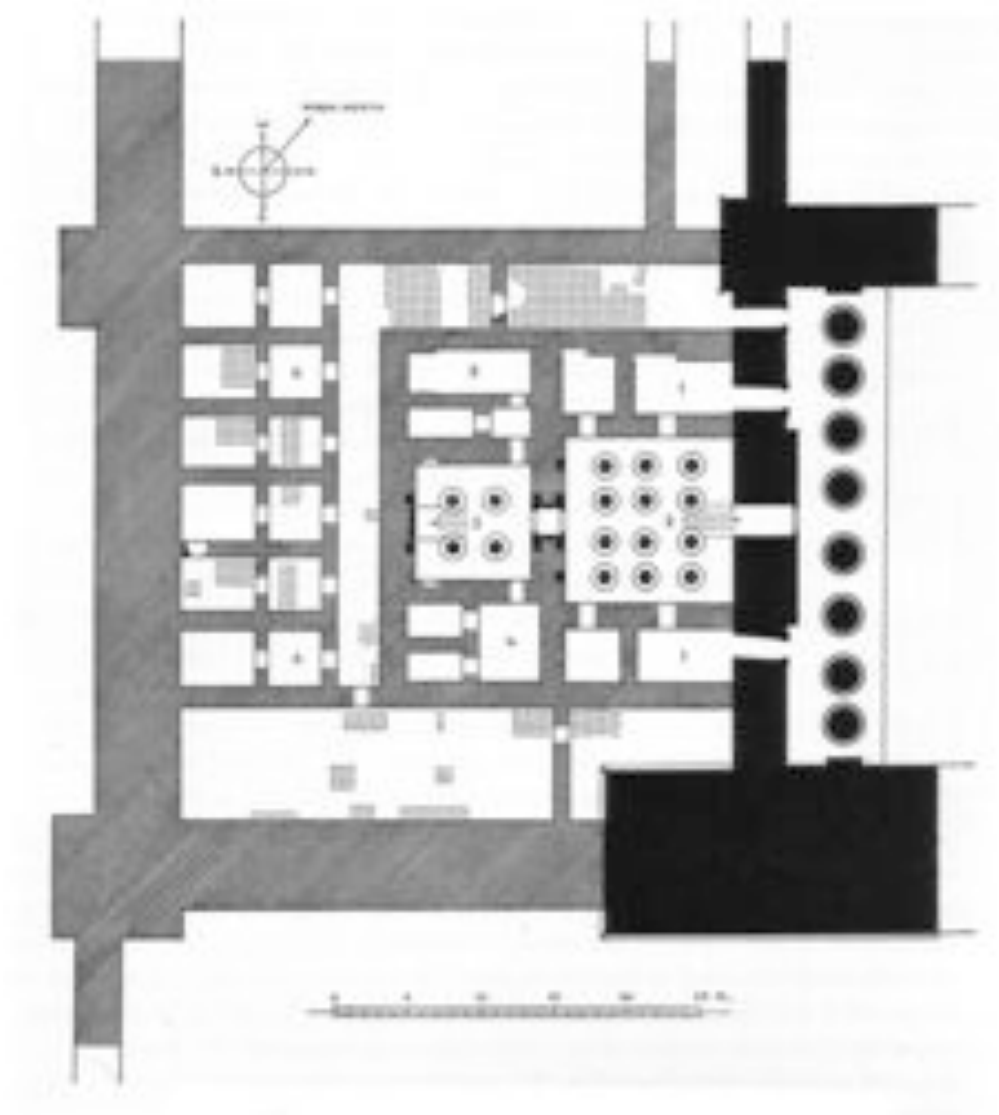
b

- a. The palace of Sety I at Qurna.
b. The palace of Sety I at Abydos.

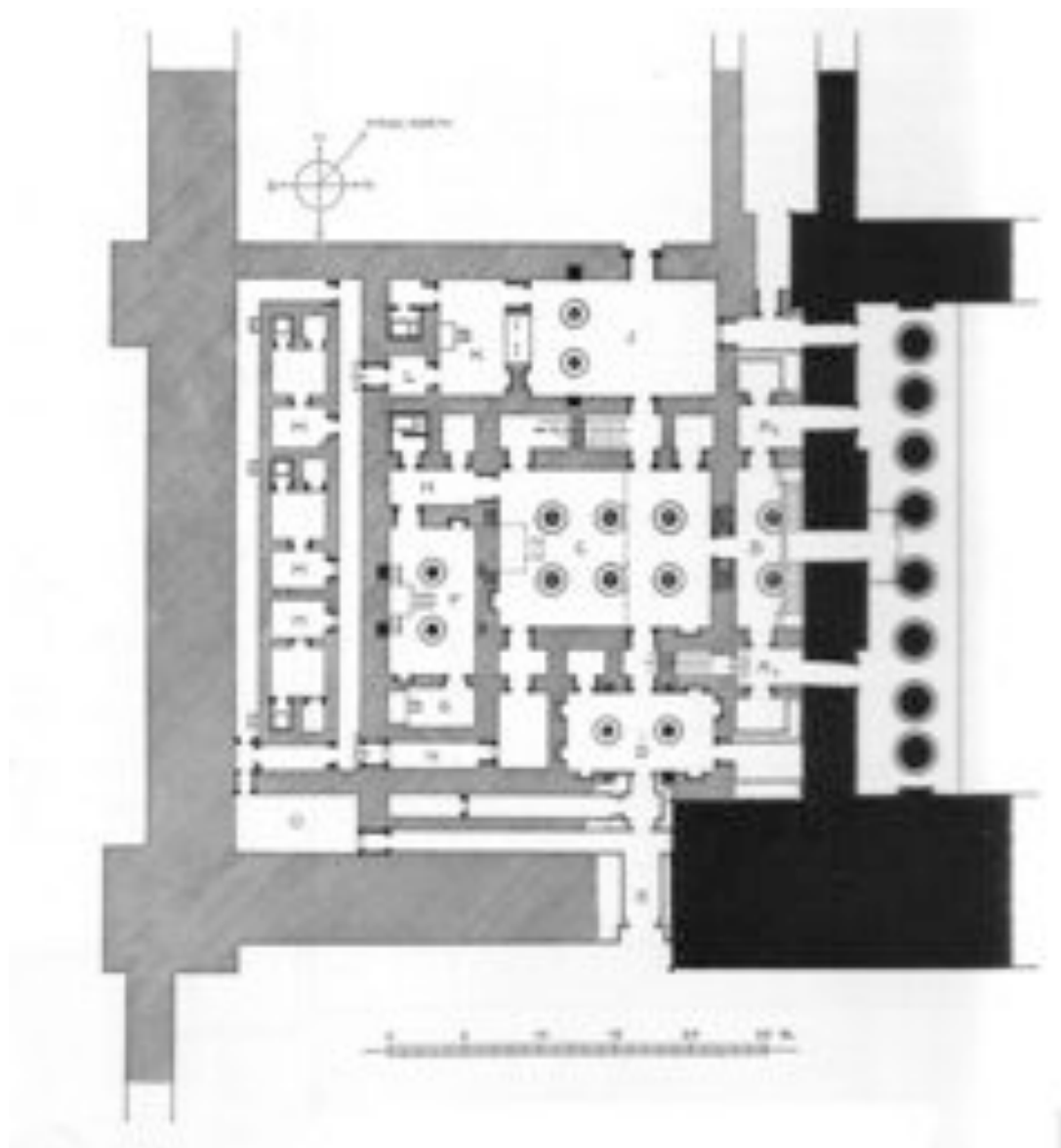


The Palace of Rameses II within the Ramesseum at Thebes.





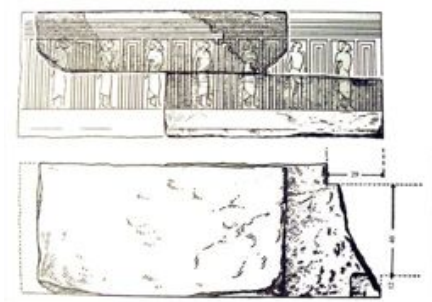
The First Palace of Rameses III within the Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu.



The Second Palace of Rameses III within the Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu.



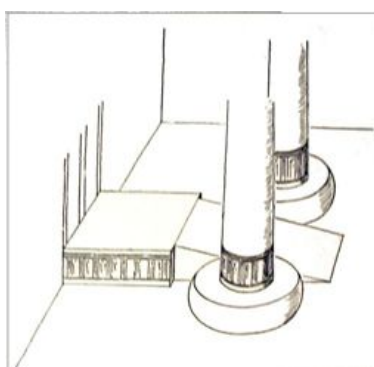
a



b



c



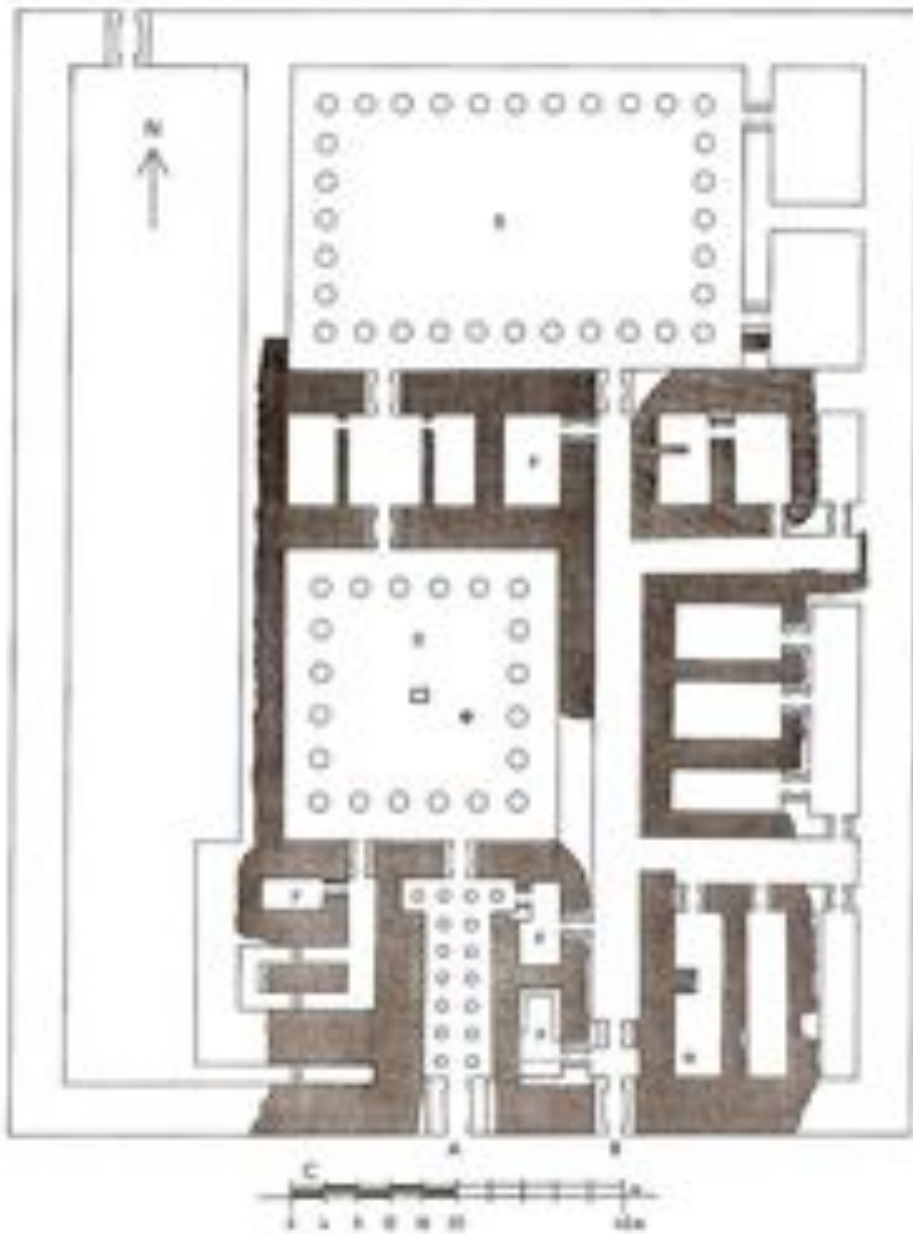
d

a. Reconstruction of the Throne Room of the First Palace of Rameses III at Medinet Habu.

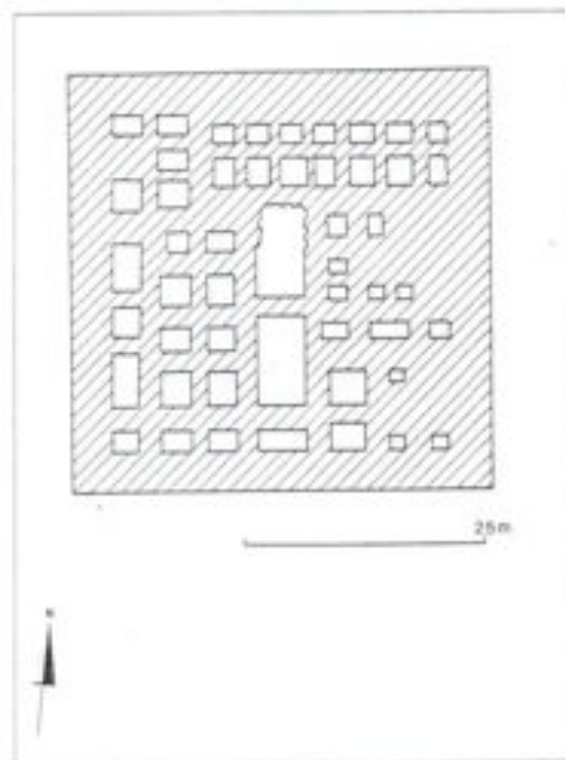
b. Bass-relief decoration of the base of the dais in the First Palace of Medinet Habu.

c. Bass-relief decoration of the columns in the First Palace of Medinet Habu.

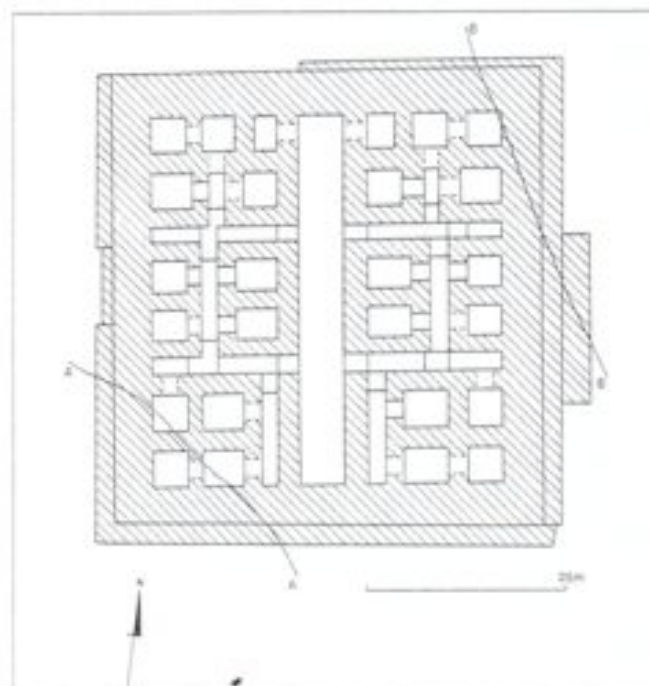
d. Reconstruction of the base of the dais in the First Palace of Medinet Habu.



The Palace of Apries at Memphis. (Original plan from Petrie 1909).

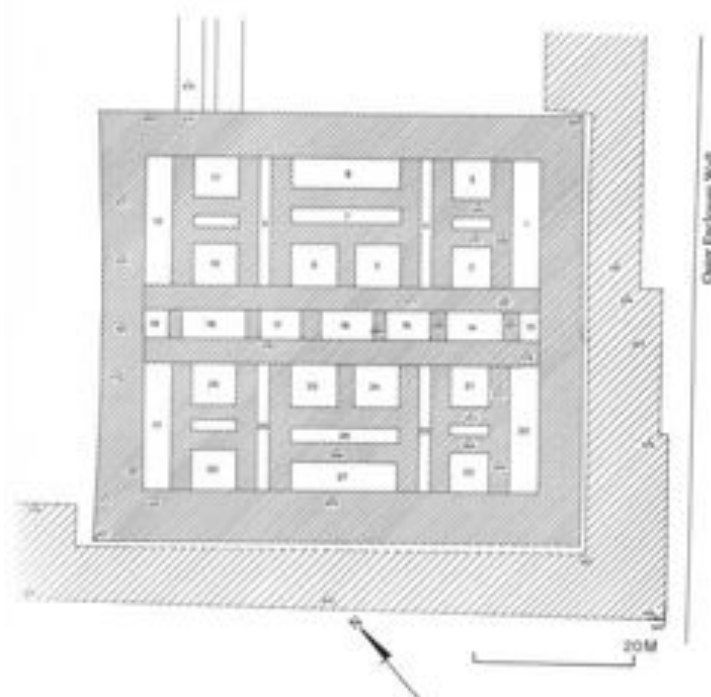


a

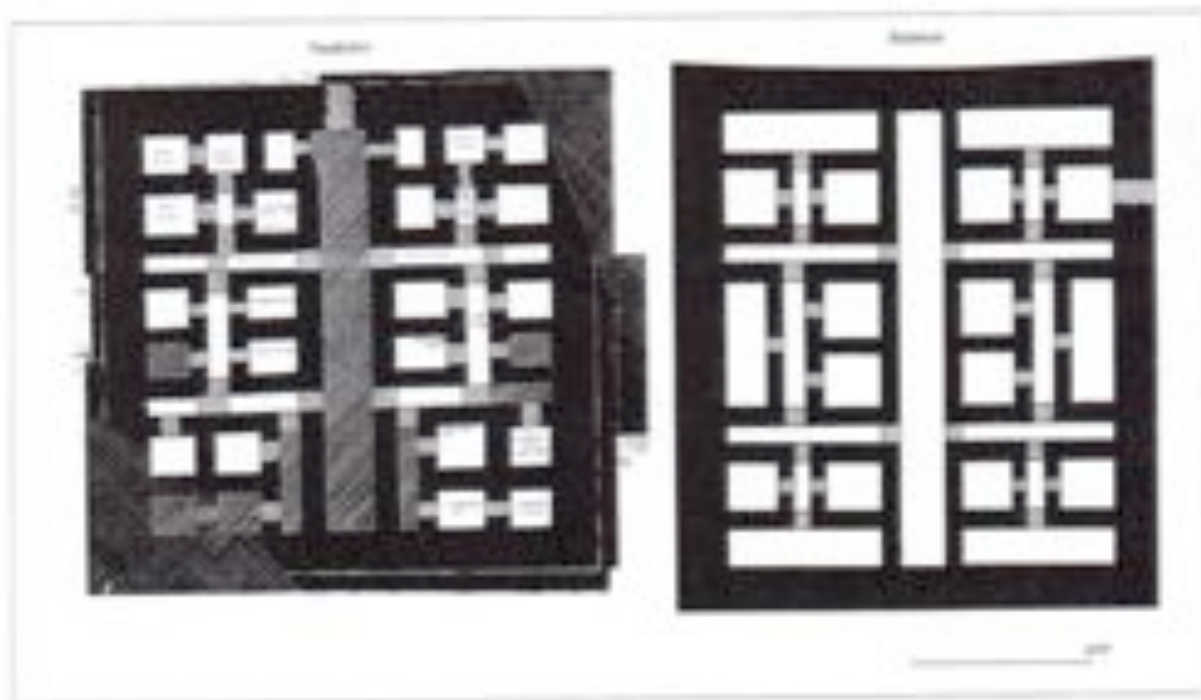


b

- a. Plan of the brick foundation platform of Psamtik I at Defenna.
b. Plan of the brick foundation platform at Naukratis.



a



b

- a. Plan of the brick foundation platform at Tell el-Balamun.
 b. Reconstructed plans of the platforms at Naukratis and Tell el-Balamun at occupation-floor level.



Representation of a store-area from the tomb of *Mry-R'* at Amarna.

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE I. The Palace at Tell Basta. Van Siclen 1996: fig. 1.

PLATE II. Plan of the site of Tell el-Dab'a. Bietak, Forstner-Müller 2006: fig. 1.

PLATE III. a: Plan of the domestic structure excavated east of the temple of Amenemhat I at 'Ezbet Rushdi. Adam 1959: Pl. 17.

b: The temple discovered in the 1950ies by Shehata Adam at 'Ezbet Rushdi.
http://www.auaris.at/html/ezbet_pic1_en.html

PLATE IV. A 13th Dynasty palace at Tell el-Dab'a. Eigner 1996, fig. 1.

PLATE V. A 15th Dynasty palace at Tell el-Dab'a. Bietak, Forstner-Müller 2006: abb. 2.

PLATE VI. The Palace District of the Thutmosid Period at Tell el-Dab'a (Ezbet Helmi). Geophysical survey. http://www.auaris.at/html/helmi15_en.html

PLATE VII. The Palace District of the Tuthmosid Period at Tell el-Dab'a (Ezbet Helmi). Plan. http://www.auaris.at/html/helmi16_en.html

PLATE VIII. a. Palace F in area H/I at Tell el-Dab'a. http://www.auaris.at/html/helmi22_en.html

b. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Palace F in area H/I at Tell el-Dab'a. http://www.auaris.at/html/helmi23_en.html

PLATE IX. a. Palace G in area H/II-III and H/VI at Tell el-Dab'a. http://www.auaris.at/html/helmi27_en.html

b. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Palace G in area H/II-III and H/VI at Tell el-Dab'a. http://www.auaris.at/html/helmi28_en.html

PLATE X. a: Deir el-Ballas: South Palace. Smith 1981: fig. 51.

b. Deir el-Ballas: North Palace. Smith 1981: fig. 52.

PLATE XI. Reconstruction of the structure above the platform of the North Palace at Deir el-Ballas. http://www.auaris.at/html/helmi26_en.html

PLATE XII. a. The position of the harim-palace in the site of Medinet Gurob. Kemp 1978: fig. 2-3.

b. Plan of the harim-palace at Medinet Gurob. Kemp 1978: fig. 2-3.

PLATE XIII. Malkata: plan of the site. Smith 1981: fig. 54.

PLATE XIV. Malkata, the King's House of Amenhotep III. Smith 1951: fig. 55.

PLATE XV. a. Detail of mural painting from the King's bedroom of Amenhotep III at Malkata. <http://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/image/MPKBR2L.JPG>

b. Reconstruction of the mural painting from the King's bedroom of Amenhotep III at Malkata. Smith 1981: fig. 56.

c. Reconstruction of the ceiling painting from Room H (= no. 4), second phase. <http://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/image/MPrmH6L.JPG>

PLATE XVI. Geometrical decorative motifs in Rooms L5, N5, and B5 at the eastern side of the room H (= no. 4).

Room L5: <http://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/image/MPrmL5L.JPG>

Room N5: <http://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/image/MPrmN5L.JPG>

Room B5: <http://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/image/MPrmB5L.JPG>

PLATE XVII. The main royal palaces in the site of Tell el-Amarna. Kemp 1989: fig. 91.

PLATE XVIII. The North Palace at Amarna. Whittemore 1926: pl. 2.

PLATE XIX. The Green Room in the northeastern section of the North Palace at Tell el-Amarna. Frankfort 1929: Pl. V-VI.

PLATE XX. Fowl-feeding scenes and grapes from walls and ceiling of the North-East court of the North Palace at Amarna. Frankfort 1929, Pl. IX-XI.

PLATE XXI. a. Ceiling decoration from the King's Apartment in the North Palace at Amarna. Frankfort 1929: Pl. IX.

b. Water bank design from the outer wall of the Cattle/Gazelle Garden of the North Palace. Frankfort 1929: Pl. XII A, B, C.

c. Jars in stands from the Throne Room of the North Palace at Amarna. Frankfort 1929: pl. XII E.

PLATE XXII. The Great Palace at Amarna. Weatherhead 2007: fig. 3.

PLATE XXIII. The North Harim within the Great Palace at Amarna. Pendlebury 1951: pl. XIII A., 2.

PLATE XXIV. Floor and wall paintings in the Throne Room complex in the North Harem of the Great Palace at Amarna. Weatherhead 2007: fig. 11.

PLATE XXV. a. Pavement design from Room F in the North Harem of the Great Palace at Amarna. Weatherhead 2007: fig. 16.

b. Details of the floor decoration showing ponds bordered by ducks and marsh plants in the North Harim within the Great Palace at Amarna. Petrie 1984: pls. 2-4.

c. Captives pathway linking the three central halls of the Throne Room complex in the North Harim within the Great Palace at Amarna. Weatherhead 1992: fig. 2

PLATE XXVI. a. Garden court of the North Harim at Tell el-Amarna. Location of the wall paintings. Weatherhead 2007: fig. 5.

b + c. Grapes on stands and sealed pots from the colonnade of the Garden Court. Weatherhead 2007: fig. 8-9.

PLATE XXVII. Memphis. The Palace of Merenptah. Lacovara 1997: 116, fig. 23.

PLATE XXVIII. Memphis. Reconstruction of the Throne Room of the Palace of Merenptah. Fisher 1923: pl. 3.

PLATE XXIX. a. The palace of Sety I at Qurna. Stadelmann 1991: fig. 2.

b. The palace of Sety I at Abydos. Ghazouli 1964: fig. 3.

PLATE XXX. The palace of Rameses II within the Ramesseum at Thebes. Hölscher 1941/b, fig. 53.

PLATE XXXI. The Palace of Merenptah at Qurna. Hölscher 1910: 54.

PLATE XXXII. The First Palace of Rameses III within his Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu. Hölscher 1941/b: 23.

PLATE XXXIII. The Second Palace of Rameses III within his Mortuary Temple at Medinet Habu. Hölscher 1941/b: 29.

PLATE XXXIV. a. Reconstruction of the Throne Room of the First Palace of Rameses III at Medinet Habu. Hölscher 1941/b: fig. 19.

b. Bass-relief decoration of the base of the dais in the First Palace of Medinet Habu. Hölscher 1941/b: fig. 30.

c. Bass-relief decoration of the columns in the First Palace of Medinet Habu. Hölscher 1941/b, fig. 30.

d. Reconstruction of the base of the dais in the First Palace of Medinet Habu. Hölscher 1941/b: fig. 31.

PLATE XXXV. The Palace of Apries at Memphis. Petrie 1909, Pl. I. A: Old Broadway, B: New Broadway. Kaiser 1987: fig. 2.

PLATE XXXVI. a. Plan of the brick foundation platform of Psamtek I at Defenna. Spencer 1999: fig. 1 (after Petrie 1888: pl. 44).

b. Plan of the brick foundation platform at Naukratis. Spencer 1999: fig. 2 (after Petrie 1886: pl. 43).

PLATE XXXVII. Top. Plan of the brick foundation platform at Tell el-Balamun. Spence 1996: pl. 27.

Below. Reconstructed plans of the platforms at Naukratis and Tell el-Balamun at occupation-floor level. Spence 1996: pl. 30.

PLATE XXXVIII. Representation of a store-area from the tomb of *Mry-R'* at Amarna. Davies 1906, I: Pl. XXXI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen.

Abd el-Razik, H. 1974. 'The Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple', *JEA* 60, 142-160.

Abd el-Razik, H. 1975. 'The Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple', *JEA* 61, 125-136.

Abd el-Razik, M. 1981. 'Bemerkungen zu Grab 178 in Theben-West und zu dem *Pr-ḥd* des *Pr-Jmn*', *MDAIK* 37, 409-416.

Al-Ayedi A. R. 2006. *Index of Egyptian administrative, religious and military titles of the New Kingdom*, Ismailia.

ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo.

Adam, S. 1959. 'Report on the excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Ezbet Rushdi', *ASAE* 56, 207-226.

ÄF = Ägyptologische Forschungen.

ÄB: Schäfer, H. - Erman, A. - Wreszinski, W. - Ranke, H. - Burchardt, M. 1969. *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Heft I-IV. Inschriften von der ältesten Zeit bis zum Ende der Hyksoszeit*, Leipzig.

AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages.

Aldred, C. 1970. 'The foreign gifts offered to the Pharaoh', *JEA* 56, 105-116.

Aldred, C. (ed.) 1973. *Akhenaten and Nefertiti, catalogue of the Brooklyn Museum jubilee exhibition*, London.

Aldred, J. P. 1988. 'Two Altered Inscriptions of the Later Amarna Period', *JARCE* 25, 117-26.

Allam, S. 1973. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, Tübingen.

Alliot, M. 1935. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (FIFAO, 9, Part 2)*, Cairo.

Alliot, M. 1949-54. *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées (BdÉ, 20)*, Cairo.

Altenmüller, H. - Moussa, A. M. 1981. 'Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstrasse', *SAK* 9, 57-84.

Andrassy, P. 1991. 'Zur Struktur der Verwaltung des Alten Reiches', *ZÄS* 118, 1-10.

Andreau, G. 1980. 'La stèle Louvre C. 249: un complément à la reconstitution d'une capelle abydénienne', *BIFAO* 80, 139-147.

AO = Archiv orientalni.

AnOr = Analecta Orientalia.

Anthes, R. 1928. 'Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub', in K.H. Sethe (ed.), *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* 9, Leipzig, 1928.

Anthes, R. 1935. *Ein bisher unbekanntes Exemplar der Dienstordnung des Wesiers. Mélanges Maspero* 1,1 (*MIFAO*, 66, 1), Cairo.

Anthes, R. 1939. 'Das Berliner Henat-Relief', *ZÄS* 75, 21-31.

AoF = Altorientalische Forschungen.

Arnold, D. 1978. 'Vom Pyramidenbezirk zum 'Haus für Millionen Jahre'', *MDAIK* 34, 1-8.

Arnold, D. 1982. 'Palast', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ* II, 367-8.

Arnold, F. 1990. *The control notes and team marks. South Cemeteries of Lisht*, 2, New York.

Arnold, D. 1992. *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I at Lisht*, New York.

Arnold, D. 2002. 'The Royal Palace. Architecture, Decoration and Furnishings', in C. Ziegler (ed.), *The Pharaohs*, Milano, 271-298.

Arundale, F. - Bonomi, J. 1842. *Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum*, London.

ASAE = Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte.

Assmann, J. 1972. 'Palast oder Tempel? Überlegungen zur Architektur und Topographie von Amarna', *JNES* 31, 143-55.

Assmann, J. 1990. *Ma'at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, Munich.

Assmann, J. 1996. 'Kulturelle und Literarische Texte', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature, History and Forms*, Leiden - Brill, 59-82.

Assmann, J. 1999a. 'Literatur zwischen Kult und Politik: zur Geschichte des Textes vor dem Zeitalter der Literatur', in J. Assmann – E. Blumenthal (eds.), *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten: Vorträge der Tagung zum Gedenken an Georges Posener, 5.-10. September 1996 in Leipzig (BdE, 127)*, Cairo, 3-22.

Assmann, J. 1999b. *Maât, La Maison de Vie*, Paris.

Assmann, J. - Dziobek, H. - Guksch and F. Kampp (eds.) 1995. *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.-13.6. 1993 (SAGA, 12)*, Heidelberg.

AV = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen des DAI.

BACE = The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology.

Badawy, A. 1943. 'Die neue historische Stele Amenophis II', *ASAE* 42, 1-23.

Badawy, A. 1948. *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt in Neuen Reich*, Cairo.

Badawy, A. 1954-68. *A History of Ancient Egyptian Architecture, Vol. I. From the Earliest Times to the End of the Old Kingdom*, London.

Baer, K 1960. *Rank and Title in Old Kingdom: the Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the 5th and 6th Dynasties*, Chicago.

Baines, J. 1987. 'Practical Religion and Piety', *JEA* 73, 79-98.

Baines, J. 1990. 'Restricted knowledge, hierarchy, and decorum: Modern perceptions and ancient Institutions', *JARCE* 27, 1-23.

Baines, J. 1991. 'Society, Morality, and Religious Practice', in B. Shafer (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths and Personal Practice*, New York, 123-201.

Baines, J. 1996. 'Myth and Literature', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature (ProblAg 10)*, Leiden, 361-377.

Baines, J. – Målek, J. 1980. *Atlas of ancient Egypt*, Oxford.

Bakir, Abd el-Mohsen 1970. *Egyptian epistolography from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasty*, Cairo.

- Bakr, M. I. 1982. 'New Excavations of Zagazig University', in *L'Égyptologie en 1979: axes prioritaires de recherches I*, Paris, 153-167.
- Bakry, H. S. K. 1970a. 'Two Saite Statues of Samtowetefnakhte from the Delta', *Kêmi* 20, 19-22.
- Bakry, H. S. K. 1970b. 'Two Saite Monuments of Two Master Physicians', *OrAnt* 9, 325-333.
- Baines, J. 1990. 'Interpreting the story of Shipwrecked Sailor', *JEA* 76, 55-72.
- Balanda, S. Z. 2009. 'The title *Hry-sšt3* to the End of the New Kingdom', *JARCE* 45, 319-348.
- BAR = British Archaeological Reports, London.
- Barbotin, C. - Clère J. J. 1991. 'L'Inscription de Sésostris Ier à Tod', *BIFAO* 91, 1-11.
- Barguet, P. 1952. 'Tôd. Rapport de fouilles de la Saison Février-Avril 1950', *BIFAO* 51, 81-110.
- Barguet, P. 1962. *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: essai d'exégèse. Recherches d'archaeologie, de philologie et d'histoire*, 21, Cairo.
- Barguet, P. 1980. 'Karnak', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ* III, 341–352.
- Barguet, P. - Leclant, J. 1949-1951. *Karnak-Nord IV*, Cairo.
- Barns, J. W. B. (ed.) 1956. *Five Ramesseum papyri*, Oxford.
- Barns, J. W. B. 1952. *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe*, London.
- Barta, W. 1968. *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (ÄF, 36), Glückstadt.
- Barta, M. 1999. 'The title Inspector of the Palace during the Old Kingdom', *AO* 67, 1-20.
- Barta, M. 2003. *Sinuhe, the Bible and the Patriarchs*, Prague.
- Barsanti, A. 1900. 'Tombeau de Psammétique et de Setariban', *ASAE* 1, 161-188.
- Barsanti, A. 1904. 'Le tombeau de Hikaoumsaf. Rapport sur la découverte', *ASAE* 5, 69-78.
- Barsanti, A. – Gauthier, H. 1911. 'Stèles trouvées à Ouadi es-Sebouâ (Nubie)', *ASAE* 11, 64-86.
- Barsanti, A. - Maspero, G. 1900. 'Tombeau de Péteénisis', *ASAE* 1, 230-261.

- Baud, M. 1935. *Les dessins ébauchées de la nécropole thébaine* (MIFAO, 63), Cairo.
- BdÉ = Bibliothèque d'Étude: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
- Beckerath von, J. 1964. *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, Glückstadt.
- Beckerath von, J. 1971. *Abriss der Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, München.
- Bezold, C. - Budge E. A. W. 1982. *The Tell-el Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, London.
- Beinlich, H. - Saleh, M. 1989. *Corpus der Hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun*, Oxford.
- Bell, I. 1985. 'Luxor temple and the cult of the ka', *JNES* 54, 251-294.
- Bennett, J. 1939. 'The restoration inscription of Tut'ankhamun', *JEA* 25, 8-15.
- Benson, M. - Gourlay, J. - Newberry, P. E. 1869-1949. *The Temple of Mut in Asher: an account of the excavation of the temple and of the religious representations and the objects found therein, as illustrating the history of Egypt and the main religious ideas of the Egyptians*, London.
- Berend, W. B. S. 1882. *Principaux monuments du Musée égyptien de Florence. Première partie, Stèles, bas-reliefs et fresques*, Paris.
- Berlev, O. D. 1960. *The king's house in the Middle Kingdom: XXV International Congress of Orientalists; papers presented by the USSR delegation*, Moscow.
- Berlev, O. D. 1971. 'Les Prétendus «citadins» au Moyen Empire', *RdÉ* 23, 23-48.
- Berlev, O. 1978. *Obščestvennye otnošenija v Egipte epochi srednego carstva. Social'nyi sloj "Carskich ħmww"*, Moscow.
- Bezold, C. - Budge, E. A. T. W. 1892. *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum with autotype fac Similes*, London.
- BiAeg = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca.
- Bietak M. 1984. 'Eine Palastanlage aus der Zeit des späten Mittleren Reiches und andere Forschungsergebnisse aus dem östliche Nildelta (Tell el-Dab'a 1979-84)', *Aph* 121, 312-349.

Bietak, M. 1986. *Avaris and Piramesse: Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta*, London.

Bietak, M. 1991. *Tell el-Dab'a V (UZKÖAI, 8)*, Wien.

Bietak, M. 1996. *Avaris. The capital of Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a*, London.

Bietak, M. 2005. 'Neue Paläste der 18. Dynastie', in P. Janosi (ed.), *Structure and Significance. Thoughts of Ancient Egyptian Architecture. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 33*, Wien, 131-168.

Bietak, M. 2009. 'The Principal New Kingdom Naval Base', *EA* 34, 15-17.

Bietak M. - Dorner J. - Černý E. - Bagh T. 1998. 'Der Tempel und die Siedlung des Mittleren Reiches bei 'Ezbet Rushdi. Grabungsvorbericht 1996', *Ä&L* 8, 9-49.

Bietak M. - Dorner J. - Janosi P. 2000. 'Ausgrabungen in dem Palastbezirk von Avaris, Vorbericht Tell el-Dab'a/'Ezbet Helmi 1993-2000, mit einem Beitrag von A. von den Driesch', *Ä&L* 11, 27-129.

Bietak, M. – Dorner, J. – Jánosi, P. 2001. 'Ausgrabungen in dem Palastbezirk von Avaris, Vorbericht Tell el-Dab'a/'Ezbet Helmi, 1993-2000', *A&L* 11, 2-119.

Bietak M. - Forstner Müller I. 2003. 'Ausgrabungen im Palastbezirk von Avaris, Vorbericht Tell el-Dab'a/'Ezbet Helmi Frühjahr 2003', *Ä&L* 13, 39-50.

Bietak M. – Forstner Müller I. 2005. 'Ausgrabung eines palastbezirkes der Tuthmosidenzeit bei 'Ezbet Helmi/Tell el-Bab'a, Vorbericht für Herbst 2004 und frühjahr 2005', *Ä&L* 15, 65-100.

Bietak M. - Forstner Müller I. 2006. 'Eine palatiale Anlage der frühen Hyksoszeit (Areal F/II). Vorläufige Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2006 in Tell el-Dab'a', *Ä&L* 16, 63-78.

Bietak, M. - Forstner-Müller, I. 2007. 'Ausgrabung eines Palastbezirkes der Tuthmosidenzeit bei 'Ezbet Helmi/Tell el-Dab'a, Vorbereicht für Frühjahr 2007', *Ä&L* 17, 33-58.

Bickel, S. 1989. 'Les domaines funéraires royaux de Thoutmès IV', *BSEG* 13, 23-32.

Bietak, M. 1975. *Tell el-Dab'a II - Der Fundort im Rahmen einer archäologisch-geographischen Untersuchung über das ägyptische Ostdelta. Mit einem geodätischen Beitrag von Josef Dorner und Heinz König (UZKÖAI, 1)*, Wien.

BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Birch, S. 1880. *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, London.

von Bissing, F. W. - Kees, H. 1922. *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, Munich.

von Bissing, F. W. - Kees, H. 1923. *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures), 2. Die kleine Festdarstellung*, Leipzig.

von Bissing, F. W. - Kees, H. 1928. *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures), 3. Die grosse Festdarstellung*, Leipzig.

Bisson F. de La Roque (ed.) 1926-36. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud, 1925-1932*, Cairo.

Bleiberg, E. 1981. 'Commodities Exchange in the Annals of Tuthmosis III', *JSSEA* 11, 107-10.

Bleiberg, E.L. 1984. 'The King's Privy Purse During the New Kingdom: An examination of *INW*', *JARCE* 21, 155-167.

Bleiberg, E. 1988. 'The Redistributive Economy in New Kingdom Egypt: An examination of *b3kw(t)*', *JARCE* 25, 157-168.

Blackman, A. M. 1932. *Middle-Egyptian Stories (BiAe, 2)*, Bruxelles.

Blackman, A. M. 1946. 'The stela of Nebipusenwosret: British Museum no. 101', *JEA* 21, 1-9.

Blackman, A. M. 1988. *The story of King Kheops and the magicians: transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033)*, Kent.

Blumenthal, E. 1970. *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches, 1*, Berlin.

Blumenthal, E. 1977. 'Die Textgattung Expeditionsbericht in Ägypten', in J. Assmann et al. (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, Wiesbaden, 85-118.

Blumenthal, E. 1987. 'Die "Gottesväter" des Alten und Mittleren Reiches', *ZÄS* 114, 10-35.

- Blumenthal, E. 1998. Sinuhes Persönliche Frömmigkeit, in I. Shirun-Glumach (ed.), *Jersulam Studies in Egyptology (Ägypten und Altes Testament, 40)*, Wiesbaden - Harrassowitz, 213-31.
- Boeser, P. A. A. 1905-1932. *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, 14 vols., Leiden.
- Bothmer, B. V. 1969. *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period. 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*, Brooklyn.
- Boorn van de G. P. F. 1988. *The Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*, London and New York.
- Borchardt, von L. 1872. 'Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus dem Ende des Mittleren Reiches', *ZÄS* 28, 65-103.
- Borchardt, von L. 1907/8. 'Die Dienstgebäude des Auswärtigen Amtes unter den Ramessiden', *ZÄS* 44, 59-61.
- Borchardt, von L. 1911-1936. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, 4 vols., Berlin.
- Borchardt, von L. 1913. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re II*, Leipzig
- Borchardt, von L. 1926. 'Jubiliumsbilder, II, Verbaute. Blöcke aus dem Chons Tempel in Karnak', *ZÄS* 61, 37-51.
- Bosse, K., 1936. *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit von der XXII. bis zur XXX. Dynastie*, Glückstadt.
- Bosse-Griffith, K. 1955. 'The Memphite Stela of Merenptah and Pathmose', *JEA* 41, 56-63.
- Bosticco S. 1959. *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le stele Egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*, Roma.
- Bothmer, B. V. 1969. *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period. 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*, Brooklyn.
- Botti, G. - Peet. T. E. 1928. *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe. Papiri Ieratici del Museo di Torino*, Torino.
- Botti, G. - Romanelli, P. 1951. *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Monumenti Vaticani di archeologia e d'arte IX*, Città del Vaticano.

- Bouriant, U. 1882. 'Le tombeau de Ramsès à Cheikh-Abd-el-Gournah', *RevArch* 23, 43, 279-284.
- Bouriant, U. 1887. 'Petits monuments et petits textes recueillis en Égypte', *RT* 9, 81-100.
- Bouriant, U. 1889. 'Notes de voyage', *RT* 11, 131-159.
- Bouriant, U. 1890. 'Notes de voyage', *RT* 13, 153-179.
- Bouriant, U. 1892. 'Une stèle du Tombeau d'Anna', *RT* 12, 105-107.
- Bouriant, U. 1893. 'Notes de voyage', *RT* 14, 67-74.
- Bouriant, U. 1889. 'Tombeau de Harmhabi', in P. Virey (ed.), *Sept tombeaux thébaines* (MMAF 5, 2), Cairo, 413-434.
- Bourriau, J. 1982. 'Three Monuments from Memphis in the Fitzwilliam Museum', *JEA* 68, 51-59.
- Boussac, H. 1896. *Le tombeau d'Anna* (MMAF, 18), Paris.
- Bovot, J. L. 1997. 'La reconstitution de la tombe de Sennefer', in R. Tefnin (ed.), *La peinture égyptienne ancienne. Un monde de signes à préserver. Actes du Colloque international de Bruxelles, avril 1994* (= *MonAeg*, 7 = *Série IMAGO* 1), Bruxelles, 105-110.
- Brack, A. - Brack, A. 1975. 'Vorbericht über Arbeiten im Grab des Tjanuni (PM 74) 1973/74', *MDAIK* 31, 15-26.
- Brack, A. - Brack, A. 1977. *Das Grab des Tjanuni, Theben Nr. 74* (AV, 19), Mainz.
- Brack, A. - Brack, A. 1980. *Das Grab des Haremhab, Theben Nr. 78* (AV, 35), Mainz.
- Brand, P. J. 2000. *The monuments of Seti I. Epigraphical, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*, Leiden – Boston – Köln.
- Breasted, J. H. 1906-7. *Ancient record of Egypt*, 5 vols., Chicago.
- Breasted, J.H. 1908-9. 'Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition', *AJSL* 25, 1-110.
- Breasted, J. H. 1972. *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, Pennsylvania.
- Bresciani, E. 1988. *Saqqara IV: Tomba di Bakenrenef (L.24). Attività del Cantiere Scuola 1985-1987*, Pisa.

- Bresciani, E. 1999. 'L'Hypogée du vizir Bakenrenet', *Les dossier d'Archéologien* Nr. 146-147, 110-112.
- Brieber, M. L. 1982. *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae etc, Part 10*, London.
- Bryan, B. M. 2001. 'Painting Techniques and Artisan Organization in the Tomb of Suemniwet, Theban Tomb 92', in W.V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London, 63-72.
- Brock, L. P. 2001a. 'The Tomb of Sennefer', in R. Weeks (ed.), *Valley of the Kings: The Tombs and the Funerary Temples of Thebes West*, Cairo, 376-383.
- Brock, L. P. 2001b. 'The Tomb of Khaemhat', in R. Weeks (ed.), *Valley of the Kings: The Tombs and the Funerary Temples of Thebes West*, Cairo, 364-375.
- Brugsch, H. 1883-1891. *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegypticarum: altaegyptische Inschriften. Gesammelt, verglichen, übertragen, erklärt und autographiert*, Leipzig.
- Bruyère, B. 1922-3. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh*, 2, Cairo.
- Bruyère, B. 1925. 'Un jeune Prince Ramesside trouvé à Deir el Médineh', *BIFAO* 25, 147-165.
- Bruyère, B. - Kuentz, C. 1926. *La tombe de Nakht-Min et la tombe d'Ari-Nefer* (*MIFAO*, 54, 1), Cairo.
- Brunner, H. 1959. 'An Honoured Teacher of the Ramesside Period', *JEA* 45, 3-5.
- Brunner-Traut, E. 1957. 'Die Tübinger Statuette aus der Zeit des Apries', *ZÄS* 82, 90-98.
- Brunner-Traut, E. 1976. *Altägyptische Märchen der Weltliteratur*, Düsseldorf.
- Brunton, G. - Engelbach, R. 1927. *Gurob*, London.
- Budge, E. A. W. 1909. *British Museum. A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, London.
- Budge, E. A. W. 1923. *Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum: with descriptions, summaries of contents, etc.*, London.
- Buongarzone, R. 1995. 'LA rw(t).t E IL mr rw(y).t', *EVO* 18, 45-63.
- Buhl, M. L. 1959. *The late Egyptian anthropoid stone sarcophagi*, Copenhagen.

- Burgos, F. - Larché, F. 2008. *La chapelle rouge: le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout*, Paris.
- de Buck, A. 1938. 'The building inscription of the Berlin Leather Roll', in A. M. Blackman – E. Otto - J. Vandier – A. de Buck (eds.), *Studia Aegyptica*, 1 (*AnOr*, 17), Rome, 48-57.
- de Buck, A. 1948. *The Egyptian reading book: exercises and Middle Kingdom texts*, 1, Leiden.
- Callender, G. 2000. The Middle Kingdom Renaissance (2055-1650 BC), in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 148-183.
- Calverley, A. M. 1959. *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos*, Chicago.
- Calverley, A. M. - Broome, M.F. 1959. *The Temple of the King Sethos I at Abydos*, 4 vols. London and Chicago.
- Camino, R. O. 1952, 'Gebel el-Silsilah no.100', *JEA* 38, 46-61.
- Camino, R. O. 1954. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, London.
- Camino, R. 1956. *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, Oxford.
- Camino, R. O. 1958. *The Chronicle of Osorkon* (*AnOr*, 37), Rome.
- Camino, R. A. 1964. 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela', *JEA* 50, 71-101.
- Camino, R. O. 1998. *Semna-Kumma* (*EES Memoir*, 37), London.
- Camino, R. O. - James, T. G. H. 1963. *Gebel es-Silsilah. I. The Shrines* (*EES Memoir*, 31), London.
- Capart, J. - Gardiner, A. H. - Van de Walle, B. 1936. 'New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-robberies', *JEA* 12, 169-193.
- Carter, H. 1912. *Five years explorations at Thebes: a record of work done 1907-11*, Oxford.
- Castle, G. – Tallet, P. 2001. 'Les inscriptions d'el-Harra, oasis de Baherehya', *BIFAO* 101, 99-117.
- Cavillier, G. 2008. *Migdol. Ricerche sui modelli di architettura di età ramesside (Medinet Habu)*, (*BAR*, 1755), Oxford.
- CdÉ* = Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin Périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

- Chassinat, É. 1900. 'Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis', *RT* 22, 107-180.
- Chassinat, É. 1910. *Le Mammisi d'Edfou*, Cairo.
- Chassinat, É. 1960. *Le temple d'Edfou. Tome 10/2 (MMAF, 27)*, Cairo.
- Chauveau, M. 1996. 'Violence et répression dans la "Chronique de Pétéise', in B. Menu (ed.) *Égypte pharaonique: pouvoir, société (Méditerranées 6/7)*, Paris, 233-246.
- Chevereau, P-M. 1985. *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque: carriers militaires et carriers sacerdotales en Égypte du XIe au IIe siècle avant J. C.*, Paris.
- Chevereau, P-M. 1991. *Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires du Moyen Empire, RdÉ* 42, 43-88.
- Chevereau, P-M. 1992. *Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires du Moyen Empire, RdÉ* 43, 11-34.
- Chevereau, P-M. 1994. *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, Paris.
- Chevereau, P-M. 2001. *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire (Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie, 3)*, Paris.
- Chevrier, H. 1935-6. 'Rapport sur le travaux de Karnak', *ASAE* 36, 131-157.
- Clère, J. J. 1950. 'La stèle d'un commissaire de police (mr-šnt) de la première période intermédiaire', *RdÉ* 7, 19-32.
- Clère, J. J. 1959. 'Un Hymn à Abydos sur une stèle inédite d'Époque Ramesside', *ZÄS* 84, 86-104.
- Clère, J. J. 1972. 'Une statue naphore hathorique d'époque saïte', *RdÉ* 24, 50-54.
- Clère, J. J. - Vandier, J. 1948. *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie*, Bruxelles.
- Champollion, J. F. 1827. *Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du Musée Charles X*, Paris.
- Christophe, L. A. 1950. 'La salle V du Temple de Sethi I à Gournah', *BIFAO* 49, 117-180.

- Christophe, L. A. 1955. *Temple d'Amon à Karnak. Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes* (BdE, 21), Cairo.
- Černý, J. 1935. *Ostraca Hiératiques. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, 2 vols., Cairo.
- Černý, J. 1939. *Late Ramesside Letters* (BAe, 9), Bruxelles.
- Černý, J. 1958. *Egyptian stelae in the Bankes collection*, Oxford.
- Černý, J. 1969. *Abou Simbel. Chapelle de Rê-Herakhty: texts hieroglyphiques*, Cairo.
- Černý, J., - Edel, E. 1960. *Abou-Simbel: Décret de Ptah (F 62)*, Cairo.
- Černý, J. - Gardiner, H. 1957. *Hieratic Ostraca*, Oxford.
- Collier, M. – Quirke, S. 2002. *The UCL Lahun papyri*, Oxford.
- Collins, L. 1976. 'The Private Tomb of Thebes: Excavations by Sir Robert Mond 1905 and 1906', *JEA* 62, 18-40.
- Couyat, J. - Montet, P. 1912. *Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmat* (MIFAO, 34), Cairo.
- Cumming, B. 1982. *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty - Fascicle I*, Warminster.
- Daressy, G. 1887. 'Petis Monuments', *RT* 9, 81-100.
- Daressy, G. 1888. 'Les carriere de Gebelein et le roi Smendes', *RT* 10, 133-138.
- Daressy, G. 1889. 'Remarques et notes', *RT* 11, 79-95.
- Daressy, G. 1893a. 'Notes and Remarques', *RT* 14, 20-38.
- Daressy, G. 1893b. 'Notes and Remarques', *RT* 14, 165-185.
- Daressy, G. 1894. 'Notes and Remarques', *RT* 16, 123-133.
- Daressy, G. 1895. 'Inscriptions du tombeau de Psamtik à Saqqarah', *RT* 17, 17-25.
- Daressy, G. 1898. 'Notes and Remarques', *RT* 20, 81-83.
- Daressy, G. 1900a. 'Fouilles de Deir el Bircheh (novembre-décembre 1897)', *ASAE* 1, 17-43.

- Daressy, G. 1900b, 'Stèle de l'an 3 d'Amasis', *RT* 22, 1-9.
- Daressy, G. 1901. *Ostraca. Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo.
- Daressy, G. 1902. 'Le Temple de Mit Rahineh', *ASAE* 3, 22-31.
- Daressy, G. 1903. 'Le palais d'Aménophis III et le Birket Habou', *ASAE* 4, 165-70.
- Daressy, G. 1905-6. *Statues de divinités. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo.
- Daressy, G. 1911. 'Une statue de Saft-el-Henneh', *ASAE* 11, 142-144.
- Daressy, G. 1912. 'A travers les koms du Delta', *ASAE* 12, 194-195.
- Daressy, G. 1918. 'Deux statues de Balansourah', *ASAE* 18, 53-57.
- Daressy, M. G. 1920a. 'Un Groupe de Saft El Henneh', *ASAE* 20, 123-128.
- Daressy, M. G. 1920b. 'Bas-relief d'un écuyer de Ramsés III', *ASAE* 20, 3-7.
- Daressy, G. 1927. 'La "demeure royale" en Basse-Égypt', *ASAE* 17, 123-129.
- Daressy, G. – Bouriant, U. 1893. *Recueil de conse funéraire (MMAF 8, 2)*, Cairo.
- Daumas, F. 1965. *La civilization de l'Égypte pharaonique*, Paris.
- Davies, N. de G. 1903-1908. *The Rock Tombs of Amarna*, 6 vols., London.
- Davies, N. de G. 1920. *The tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his wife, Senet (no. 60). The Theban Tomb Series*, London.
- Davies, N. de G. 1923a. 'Akhenaten at Thebes', *JEA* 9, 132-52.
- Davies, N. de G. 1923b. *The Tombs of two officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (nos. 70 and 90). (TTS, 3)*, London.
- Davies, N. de G. 1925. *The Tomb of the Two Sculptors at Thebes (TTS, 4)*, New York.
- Davies, N. de G. 1930. *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, 2 vols. (*PMMA*, 5), New York.
- Davies N. de G. 1935. 'The work of the graphic branch of the expedition', *BMMA* 30, 2, 46-57.

- Davies N. de G. 1935b. *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re' at Thebes (PMMA, 10)*, New York.
- Davies, N. de G. 1941. *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, London.
- Davies N. de G. 1943. *The Tombs of Rekh-mi-Re' at Thebes (PMMA, 11)*, 2 vols, New York.
- Davies, N. de G. 1944. *The Tomb or Rekh-mi-re' at Thebes*, 2 vols., New York.
- Davies, N. de G. 1948. *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, London.
- Davies, N. de G. 1963. *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs (nos. 38, 66, 162, with excerpts from 81) (PTT, 4)*, Oxford.
- Davies, N. de G. - Davies, N. de G. 1933. *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Others (nos. 86, 112, 42, 226) (TTS, 5)*, London.
- Davies, N. M. de G. - Gardiner, A. H. 1913. *Five Theban Tombs (being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemaway and Tati) (EEF, 12)*, London.
- Davies, N. de G. - Gardiner, A. 1915. *The Tomb of Amenemhet (No 82) (TTS, 1)*, London.
- Davies, N. de G. - Gardiner, H. A. 1926. *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tut'ankham=un (no. 40) (TTS, 4)*, London.
- Davies, T. M. – Maspero, G. – Daressy G. – Crane, L. 1912. *Discovery of the tomb of Horemheb*. London.
- Davies, W. V. 1975. 'Readings in the story of Sinuhe and other Egyptian texts', *JEA* 61, 45-53.
- De Meulenaere, H. 1966. *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Epoque*, Istanbul.
- De Meulenaere H. 1983. 'Une famille de hauts dignitaires saïtes', in Meulenaere, H. de, Limme, L. (eds.), *Artibus Aegypti, Studia in honorem B. V. Bothmer*, Bruxelles, 35-41.
- De Meulenaere, H. 1991. 'Raccords Memphites', *MDAIK* 47, 243-262.
- De Morgan, J. 1894-1909. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. Ser. 1. Haute Égypte*, Vienne.
- Der Manuelian, P. 1994. *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*, London and New York.

- Derchain, P. 1992. 'Les debuts de l'histoire', *RdÉ* 43, 35-47.
- Delange, E. 1987. *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire: 2060 – 1560 avant J.C.*, Paris.
- Depauw, M. 1997. *A Companion to Demotic Studies, Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 28, Bruxelles.
- Desroches-Noblecourt, C. 1976. *Ramsès Le Grand*, Paris.
- Desroches-Noblecourt, et al. 1986. *Sen-nefer: Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben*, Mainz.
- Dewachter, M. 1980. 'Un nouveau "fils royal" de la XVIIIe dynastie: Qenamou', *RdÉ* 32, 69-73.
- Dijk, J. van 1989. 'A preliminary list of New Kingdom names and titles from the EES-Leiden excavations at Saqqara (1982-1989)', *New Kingdom Newsletter* 2, 8-12.
- Donadoni, A. M. R. 1987–1989. *Das alte Ägypten. Band 1: Das Alltagsleben; Band 2: Die religiösen Vorstellungen; Band 3: Kunst als Fest*, Milan.
- Dorman, P. F. 1988. *The Monuments of Senenmut. Problems in Historical Methodology*, London and New York.
- Dorman, P. F. 1991. *The tombs of Senenmut: the architecture and decoration of tombs 71 and 353*, New York.
- Dorman, P. F. 1995. 'A Fragment of Relief from the Tomb of Senenmut (TT 71)', in *Iubilae conlege: Studies in Memory of Abdel Aziz Sadek*, 1 (*Varia Aegyptiaca*, 10), 83-89.
- Dorman, P. 1995. 'Two Tombs and One Owner', in J. Assmann - E. Driobek, H. Guksch – F. Kampp (eds.) *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischen Forschung* (SAGA, 12), Heidelberg, 141-154.
- Doxey, D. 1998. *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis*, Leiden.
- Dümichen, J. 1885. *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler, an Ort und Stelle und mit Übersetzung und Erläuterungen*, Leipzig.
- Dunham, D. 1937. *The Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period*, Oxford.

- Dunham, D. 1967. *Second Cataract Forts II: Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*, Boston.
- Dunham, D. - Janssen, J. J. 1960-7. *Second Cataract Forts. Vol 1: Semna, Kumma. Vol. 2: Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*, Boston.
- Duringe, A. 1903. 'La stèle n° 10 d'Uriage', *Sphinx* 6, 21-29.
- Dziobek, E. 1992. *Das Grab des Ineni, Theben Nr.81 (AV, 68)*, Mainz.
- Dziobek, E. 1994. *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amin: Theben Nr. 61 und 131 (AV, 84)*, Mainz.
- Dziobek, E. 1995. *Theban Tombs as a Source for Historical and Biographical Evaluation: The Case of User-Amun. Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischen Forschung (SAGA, 12)*, Heidelberg, 129-140.
- Dziobek, E. - Raziq, M. A. 1990. *Das Grab des Sobekhotep, Theban Nr 63 (AV, 71)*, Mainz.
- Edel, E. 1962. 'Zur Lesung u. Bedeutung einiger Stellen in der biograph. Inschrift S3-rnpwt's I', *ZÄS* 85, 96-107.
- Edel, E. 1974. *Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin.
- Edel, E. 1978. 'Amasis und Nebukadrezar II', *GM* 29, 13-20.
- Edgar, M. C. C. 1915. 'A building of Merenptah at Mit Rahineh', *ASAE* 15, 97-104.
- Edgerton, W. F. 1947. 'The Nauri Decree of Seti I: A Translation and Analysis of the Legal Portion', *JNES* 6, 219-30.
- EEF = Egypt Exploration Fund Publications.
- Eigner, D. 1985. 'Der ägyptische Palast eines asiatischen Königs', in Hermann Vetters (ed.), *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts Wien* 56, Wien, 19-25.
- Eigner, D. 1996. 'A Palace of the Early 13th Dynasty at Tell el-Dab'a', in M. Bietak (ed.) *House and Place in Ancient Egypt, International Symposium 8. Bis 11. April 1992 in Cairo* (UZK, 14), Vienna, 73-80.
- Eisermann, S. 1995. 'Die Gräber des Imenemhet und des Pehsucher-Vorbild und Kopie?', in J. Assmann, E. Dziobek, H. Guksch and F.Kampp (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung (SAGA, 12)*, Heidelberg, 65-80.

El-Naggar, S. 1986. 'Étude préliminaire d'un ciel voûte de l'hypogée de Bakenrenef (L.24) à Saqqara (*EVO*, 9), 15-38.

El Rabi'i, A-M. 1977. 'Familles abydniennes du Moyen Empire', *CdÉ* 52, 13-21.

El-Sawi A. 1979a. *Excavations at Tell Basta. Report of seasons 1967-1971 and catalogue of finds*, Prague.

El-Sawi A. 1979b. 'Some objects found at Tell Basta (Season 1966-67)', *ASAE* 63, 155-159.

Enmarch, R. 2005. *The dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of all*, Oxford.

Epigraphic Survey 1980: *The Tomb of Kheruef (OIP, 102)*, Chicago.

EQÄ = Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie.

Erichsen, W. 1939-1940. *Demotische Lesestücke. II, Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig.

Erishen, W. 1942. 'Erwähnung eines Zuges nach Nubien unter Amasis in einem demotischen Text', *Klio* 34, 56-61.

Erman, A. 1900. 'Gebete e. ungerecht Verfolgten u. a. Ostraka', *ZÄS* 38, 1900, 19-41.

Erman, A. 1906. 'Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen', *ZÄS* 43, 1-26.

Erman, A. 2005. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Collection of Poems, Narratives and Manuals of Instructions from the Third and Second Millennia BC*, New York.

Evers, H. G. 1929. *Staat aus dem Stein*, Munich.

Eyre, C. J. 1990. 'The Semna stelae: quotation, genre, and functions of literature', in S. I. Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Jerusalem, 134-165.

Fairman, H. W. 1935. 'Topographical notes on the Central City, Tell el-'Amarnah', *JEA* 21, 136-9.

Fairman, H. W. 1939. 'Preliminary Report on the excavations at Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan', *JEA* 25, 139-144.

Fairman, H. W. 1951. 'The inscriptions', in J. D. S. Pendlebury (ed.), *The City of Akhenaten III. the Central City and the Official Quarters (EES MEMOIRS, 44)*, London.

Fakhry, A. 1943. 'A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes', *ASAE* 42, 449-508.

- Fakhry, A. 1952. *The inscriptions of the amethyst quarries at Wadi el-Hudi*, Cairo.
- Fakhry, A. 1961. *The monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur. Vol. I: The Valley temple. Vol. II: The finds*, Cairo.
- Farag, S. 1980. 'Une inscription memphite de la XIIe Dynastie', *RdÉ* 32, 75-8.
- Faraout, D. 1994. 'La carrière du *whmw* Ameny et l'organisation des expéditions au ouadi Hammamat au Moyen Empire', *BIFAO* 94, 143-172.
- Farid, S. 1964. 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell Basta', *ASAE* 58, 1964, 85-98.
- Farout, D. 1994. 'Le carrier du *whmw* Ameny et l'organisation des expéditions au ouadi Hammamat au Moyen Empire', *BIFAO* 94, 143-168.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1942. 'The Battle of Megiddo', *JEA* 28, 2-15.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1952. 'The Stela of the Master-Sculptor Shen', *JEA* 38, 3-5.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1953. 'Egyptian Military Organization', *JEA* 39, 32-47.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1955. 'The Installation of the Vizier', *JEA* 41, 18-29.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1958. 'The Battle of Kadesh', *MDAIK* 16, 93-111.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1964. 'Notes on 'The Admonitions of an Egyptian sage'', *JEA* 50, 24-36.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1965. 'The admonitions of an Egyptian sage', *JEA* 51, 53-62.
- FCD: Faulkner, R. O. 1962. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford.
- Fecht, G. 1964. 'Die Form der altägyptischen Literatur: Metrische und stilische Analyse', *ZÄS* 92, 10-32.
- Ferry, J. 1893. 'Une mission en Italie', *RT* 3, 103-128.
- Feucht, E. 1985. *Das grab des Nefersecheru (TT 296). Theben 2*, Mainz.
- Firth, C. M. - Gunn, B. 1926. *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, Cairo.
- Firth, C. M. – Quibell, J. E. 1936. *The Step Pyramid*, 2 vols., Cairo.
- Fischer, H. G. 1960. 'The Inscriptions of *ḲN-ḲT.F*, born of *ṚFḲ*', *JNES* 19, 258-268.
- Fischer, H. G. 1964. *Inscriptions from the Coptite nome*, Rome.

- Fischer, H. G. 1985. *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A supplement to Wm. Ward's Index*, New York.
- Fisher, C. S. 1915. 'The Eckley B. Coxe, Jr. Egyptian Expedition: Memphis', *The University of Pennsylvania Museum Journal* 4, 1915, 63-73.
- Fisher, C. 1917. 'The Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Expedition', *The Museum Journal Philadelphia* 8, 211-237.
- Fisher, C. 1921. 'The Throne Room of Merenptah', *The Museum Journal Philadelphia* 21, 30-4.
- Fisher, C. 1924. 'Merenptah's Throne Room', *The Museum Journal Philadelphia* 15, 93-100.
- Foster, J. L. 1993. *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe* (Müncher Ägyptologische Untersuchungen, 3), Frankfurt.
- Forstner-Müller, I. – Müller, W. – Schweitzer, C. – Weissl, M. 2004. 'Preliminary report on the geophysical survey at 'Ezbet Rushdi/Tell el-Dab'a in spring 2004', *Ä&L* XIV, 101-109.
- Foucart, M. G. 1924. 'Étude Thébaine', *BIFAO* 24, 1-209.
- Foucart, G. et al. 1928-1935. *Tombes thébaines: Nécropole de Dirâ' Abû'n-Naga: Le tombeau de Roÿ (tombeau no. 255); Le tombeau de Panehsy (tombeau no. 16); Le tombeau d'Amonmos (tombeau no. 19); Le tombeau d'Amon-am-anit (tombeau no. 277)* (MIFAO, 57), Cairo.
- Franke, D. 1983. *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftesbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich. Hamburger Ägyptologische Studien*, 3, Hamburg.
- Franke, D. 1984a. *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20-16. Jahrhundert v.Chr.) Dossiers 1-796*, Wiesbaden.
- Franke, D. 1984b. 'Probleme der Arbeit mit altägyptischen Titeln des Mittleren Reiches', *GM* 83, 112-114.
- Franke, D. 1994. *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine: Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich*, Heidelberg.
- Franke, D. 2003. 'The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas — A Challenge', *JEA* 89, 2003, 45-57.

Frankfort, H. 1928. 'The cemeteries of Abydos: Work of the season 1925-26', *JEA* 14, 235-245.

Frankfort, H. (ed.) 1929. *The mural paintings of El-'Amarneh*, London.

Frankfort, H. 1948. *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*, Chicago.

Frankfort, H. - de Buck, A. - Gunn, B. 1958. *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, 2 vols. (*Bde*, 39), London.

Frankfort, H. - Pendlebury, J. D. S. 1933. *The City of Akhenaten II. The North Suburb and The Desert Altars*, London.

Freed, R. E. 2001a. 'The Tomb of Rekhmire', in K. R. Weeks (ed.), *Valley of the Kings: The Tombs and the Funerary Temples of Thebes West*, New York and Cairo, 376-383.

Freed, R. E. 2001b. 'The Tomb of Ramose', in K. R. Weeks (ed.), *Valley of the Kings: The Tombs and the Funerary Temples of Thebes West*, New York and Cairo, 408-413.

Friedman, F. D. 1995. 'The Underground Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex', *JARCE* 32, 1-42.

Gaballa, G. A. - Kitchen, K. A. 1981. 'Ramesside Varia IV. The Prophet Amenemope, His Tomb and Family', *MDAIK* 37, 161-180.

Gabolde, M. 1998. *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon. Collection de l'Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Antiquité Université Lumière-Lyon 2, 3*, Lyon.

Galán, J. M. 2007. 'The Tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11-12) at Dra Abu el-Naga', in J.-C. Goyon - C. Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6-12 Septembre 2004 (OLA, 150)*, Leuven, 777-788.

Gapart, J. 1942. 'Nefertari, Isisneferet et Khaemouast', *CdE* 17, 72-82.

Gardiner, A. 1905. *The Inscription of Mes, A Contribution to Egyptian Juridical Procedure, Untersuchungen IV, pt. 3 (UGAÄ, 4/3)*, Leipzig.

Gardiner, A. H. 1909a. *The Admonitions of an Egyptian sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden*, Leipzig.

- Gardiner, A. H. 1909b. 'Inscriptions from the tomb of Si-renpowet I., prince of Elephantine', *ZÄS* 45, 123-142.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1910. 'The Tomb of Amenemhet, high priest of Amon', *ZÄS* 46, 87-99.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1911. 'The goddess Nekhbet at the Jubilee festival of Ramesses III', *ZÄS* 48, 47-51.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1916. *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, Paris.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1917. 'The tomb of a much-travelled Theban Official', *JEA* 4, 28-38.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1918. 'The Delta Residence of the Ramessides', *JEA* 5, 127-138, 179-200, 242-271.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1920. 'Military Road between Egypt and Palestine', *JEA* 6, 99-116.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1923. 'The eloquent peasant', *JEA* 9, 5-25.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1932. *Late Egyptian Stories (BiAeg, 1)*, Bruxelles.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1933. 'The Dakhleh Stela', *JEA* 19, 19-30.
- Gardiner, A. H. (ed.) 1935. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third series. Chester Beatty Gift.*, 2 vols., London.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1937. *Late Egyptian Miscellanies (BiAeg, 7)*, Bruxelles.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1940. *Ramesseum Administrative Documents*, London.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1941-52. *The Wilbour papyrus*, 4 vols., London.
- Gardiner, A. J. 1944. 'Horus the Behdetite', *JEA* 30, 23-60.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1947. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 3 vols., Oxford.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1948 (ed.) *Ramesseum Administrative Documents*, Oxford.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1952a, 'Tuthmosis III returns thanks to Amūn', *JEA* 38, 6-23.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1952b, 'Some Reflections on the Nauri Decree', *JEA* 38, 24-33.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1953. 'The coronation of king Ḥaremḥab', *JEA* 39, 13-31.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1955. *The Ramesseum Papyri*, Oxford.

- Gardiner, A. H. 1959. *The Royal Canon of Turin*, Oxford.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1960. *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramses II*, Oxford.
- Gardiner, A. H. - Peet, T. E. - Černý, J. 1952-55. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2 vols. (*EES Memoirs*, 45), London.
- Garstang, J. 1901. *El-Arabah* (*BSAE*, 6), London.
- Gauthier, H. 1907-17. *Le livre des rois d'Égypte: recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d'un index alphabétique* (*MIFAO*, 17-21), Cairo.
- Gauthier, H. 1914. 'Index aux Notes Géographiques sur le Nome Panopolite', *BIFAO* 11, 49-63.
- Gauthier H. 1911. 'La Grande Inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos', *ZÄS* 58, 52-66.
- Gauthier, H. 1912a. *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouâ*, Cairo.
- Gauthier, H. 1912b. *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte, vol. II de la XIIIe à la fin de la XVIIIe dynastie* (*IFAO Mémoires*, 18), Cairo.
- Gauthier, H. 1918, 'Le titre *imy-r* *hnwty* et ses acceptions diverses', *BIFAO* 15, 169-206.
- Gauthier, H. 1920, 'Les statues Thébaines de la déesse Sakhmet', *ASAE* 19, 177-207.
- Gauthier, H. 1925-31. *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, Cairo.
- Gauthier, H. 1928. 'Une vice-roi d'Éthiopie enseveli à Bubastis', *ASAE* 28, 129-137.
- Gayet, E. 1886. *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, Paris.
- GEG = Gardiner, A. H. 1973. *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd rev. ed., Oxford.
- Gestermann, L. 1987. *Kontinuität und Wandel in Politik und Verwaltung des frühen Mittleren Reiches in Ägypten* (*GOF/IV* 18), Wiesbaden.
- Ghalioungui, P. 1983. *The Physicians of Pharaonic Egypt* (*SDAIK*, 10), Mainz.
- Giorgini, M. S. 1965. *Soleb I, 1813-1963*, Florence.
- Giorgini, M. S. 1998. *Soleb V. Le Temple bas-reliefs et inscriptions*, Cairo.

- Gitton, M. 1974. 'Le palais de Karnak', *BIFAO* 74, 63-73.
- Gitton, M. 1976. 'La rélitation d'une fonction religieuse: nouvelle interpretation de la Stèle de donation d'Ahmès Néfertari', *BIFAO* 76, 65-89.
- Gitton, M. 1979. 'Nouvelles remarques sur la Stèle de donation d'Ahmès Néfertary', *BIFAO* 79, 327-331.
- Gitton, M. 1984. *Les divines épouses de la 18^e dynastie (Annales Littéraires de l' Université de Besançon, 306)*, Paris.
- Glanville, S. R. K. 1932a. 'Records of a royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III', *ZÄS* 68, 7-41.
- Glanville, S. R. K. 1932b. 'Scribes palettes in the British Museum. Part I', *JEA* 18, 53-61.
- GM: Göttinger Miszellen.
- Gnirs, A. M. 1995. 'Das Pfeilerdekoriationsprogramm im Grab des Meri, Theban Nr. 95: Ein Beitrag zu den Totenkultpraktiken der 18. Dynastie', in J. Assmann - E. Dziobek - H. Guksch and F. Kampp (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischen Forschung (SAGA, 12)*, Heidelberg, 233-254.
- Gnirs, A. M. 1996. 'Die ägyptische Autobiographie', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Leiden, 191-242.
- Gnirs, A. M. 2009. 'In the King's House: Audiences and receptions at court', in R. Gundlach and J. H. Taylor (eds.), *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 4,1. 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie. Egyptian Royal Residences. London, June 1st-5th 2004*, Wiesbaden, 13-43.
- Gnirs A. M. - Grothe , E. - Guksch, H. 1997. 'Zweiter Vorbericht über die Aufnahme und Publikation von Gräbern der 18. Dynastie der thebanischen Beamtennekropole', *MDAIK* 53, 57-83.
- Goedicke, H. 1962a. 'A neglected wisdom text', *JEA* 48, 25-35.
- Goedicke, H. 1962b. 'Psammetik I. und die Libyer', *MDAIK* 18, 26-49.
- Goedicke, H. 1969-70. 'Some notes of the Nitocris Adoption Stela', *JARCE* 8, 69-71.
- Goedicke, H. 1971. *Re-used blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, New York.

- Goedicke, H. 1974. 'The Berlin Leather Roll (P Berlin 3029)', in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilung aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 8), Berlin, 87-104.
- Goelet, O. 1982. *Two aspects of the royal palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom*, Thesis (Ph. D.), Columbia University.
- Goelet, O. 1986. 'The term *stp-s3* in the Old Kingdom and its later development', *JARCE* 23, 85-98.
- Gohary, J. 1992. *Akhenaten's Sed Festival at Karnak*, London and New York.
- Golenischeff, V. S. 1912. *Le Conte du naufragé* (BdE, 2), Cairo.
- Gordon, A. 1983. 'The Tomb of the Vizier Amenhotep at Thebes', *MDAIK* 39, 71-8.
- Goyon, G. 1957. *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat*, Paris.
- Goyon, J. C. 1969. 'La statuette funéraire I. E. 84 de Lyon', *BIFAO* 67, 162-163.
- Goyon, J. C. 1999. *Les Papyrus d'Imouthes Fils de Psintaes au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York* (Papyrus MMA 39.9.21), New York.
- Graefe, E. 1974. 'Die vermeintlich unterägyptische Herkunft des Ibi, Obermajordomus der Nitokris', *SAK* 1, 201-206.
- Graefe, E. 1981. *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun von Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden.
- Graefe, E. 1982. "Talfest", in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ VI*, 187-9.
- Grajetzki, W. 2001. *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, (BAR-IS 1007), Oxford.
- Grapow, H. 1937. *Ägyptische Personenbezeichnungen zur Angabe der Herkunft aus einem Ort*, Leipzig.
- Grébaut, E. - Maspero, G. 1890-1900. *Le Musée égyptien: recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Egypte*, Cairo.
- Griffith, F. Ll. 1889. *The Inscriptions of Siut and Der Rifeh*, London.
- Griffith, F. Ll. 1891. 'The account papyrus no. 18 Boulaq', *ZÄS* 29, 102-116.

- Griffith, F. Ll. 1896. 'The Millingen Papyrus', *ZÄS* 34, 35-51.
- Griffith, F. Ll. 1898. *The Petrie Papyri. Hieratic Papyri from Khaun and Gurob (principally of the Middle Kingdom)*, London.
- Griffith, F. Ll. 1909. *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Jhon Rylands Library Manchester with Facsimiles and Complete Translations, 3: Key-List, Translations, Commentaries and Indices*, Manchester and London.
- Griffith, F. Ll. 1927. 'The Nauri Decree of Seti I at Abydos', *JEA* 13, 139-208.
- Grimal, N. C. 1981. *La stèle triomphale de Pi('ankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086-47089 (MIFAO, 105)*, Cairo.
- Guilloux Le. P. 2005. *Les aventures de Sinouhé. Angers: Cahiers de l'Association d'Égyptologie Isis no. 4.*, Paris.
- Guksh, H. 1995. *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb, Thebe Nr. 87 und 79 (AV, 34)*, Mainz.
- Gülden, S. A. 2001. *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin 3049*, Wiesbaden.
- Gundlach, R. 2009. 'Horus in the Palace': The centre of state and culture in pharaonic Egypt', in R. Gundlach and J. H. Taylor (eds.), *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 4,1. 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie. Egyptian Royal Residences. London, June 1st-5th 2004*, Wiesbaden, 44-65.
- Gunn, B. 1923. 'Notes on the Aten and his Names', *JEA* 9, 168-76.
- Gunn, B. 1945. 'Brief communications', *JEA* 31, 106-107.
- Günter, R. 1913-24. *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig.
- Gutschmidt, H. 2004. 'Literarizitätsbegriff und Literarizitätskriterien in der Ägyptologie', *LingAeg* 12, 75-87.
- Habachi, L. 1951. 'Notes on the Altar of Sekhemre-Sewadjtowe Sebkhotpe from Sehel', *JEA* 37, 17-19.
- Habachi, L. 1953. 'Graffito of the Chamberlain and Overseer of Works Antef at Sehel', *JEA* 39, 50-59.
- Habachi L. 1954. 'Khatâ'na-Qantir: Importance', *ASAE* 52, 443-559.

- Habachi, L. 1955-56. 'Notes on the Delta Hermopolis, capital of the XVth nome of Lower Egypt' *ASAE* 53, 441-480.
- Habachi, L. 1968. 'The owner of Tomb No. 282 in the Theban Necropolis, *JEA* 54, 107-113.
- Habachi, L. 1971. 'The Jubilees of Ramesses II and Amenophis III with Reference to Certain Aspects of their Celebration', *JEA* 97, 64-72.
- Habachi, L. 1975. *Tell Basta. Supplément aux annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, n. 22, Le Caire.
- Habachi, L. 1977. *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libagione*, n. 22001-22067. *Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie 2, Collezioni*, Turin.
- Habachi, L. 1979. 'Rock inscriptions from the Reign of Ramesses II and around Elephantine', in M. Görg - E. Pusch (eds.), *Festschrift Elmar Edel* 12. März 1979, Bamberg, 234-237.
- Habachi, L. 1982. 'Bubastis', in: W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *LÄ* I, Wiesbaden, 873-874.
- Habachi L. 1985. *Elephantine IV. The sanctuary of Heqaib*, 2 vols., Mainz.
- Habachi L. 1987. *Studies on the Middle Kingdom. Studia Aegyptiaca X, Études Publiées par le Chaiers d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Université Loránd Eötvös de Budapest* 37, Budapest.
- Haeny G. 1967. 'Zum Hohen Tor von Medinet Habu', *ZÄS* 94, 71-77.
- Haeny, G. 1982. 'La Fonction religieuse des châteaux de millions d'années', in *L'Égyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches I (colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 595)*, Paris.
- Hayes, W. C. 1937. *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramesses II at Kantir*, New York.
- Hayes, W. C. 1942. *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-Mut (no. 71) at Thebes (PMMA, 15)*, New York.
- Hayes, W. C. 1947. 'Horemkhacuef of Nekhen and his Trip to It-towe', *JEA* 33, 3-11.
- Hayes, W. C. 1951. 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III', *JNES* 10, 35-41; 82-112; 156-183; 231-242.
- Hayes, W. C. 1953. 'Notes on the Government of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom', *JNES* 14, 31-39.

Hayes, W. C. 1955. *A Papyrus of the late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)*, New York.

Hayes, W. C. 1960. 'A Selection of Thutmoside Ostraca from Dēr El Bahri', *JEA* 46, 29-52.

Hannig, R. 1995. *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950 v.Chr.)*, Mainz.

Hari, R. 1976a. *Repertoire onomastique Amarnien*, Geneva.

Hari, R. 1976b. 'La Grande-en-Magie et la stèle du Temple de Ptah à Karnak', *JEA* 62, 100-107.

Hartung, U. 2007, 'Tell el-Fara'in - Buto, 9. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 63, 69-165.

Hartwig Altenmüller – Moussa A. M. 1991. 'Die Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis. Ein Vorbericht', *SAK* 18, 1-48.

Hassan, S. 1928. *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*, Cairo.

Hassan, S. 1929. *Le Poème dit de Pentaour et le rapport officiel sur la bataille de Qadesh*, Cairo.

Hassan, S. B. 1937. 'The Great Limestone stela of Amenhotep II', *ASAE* 37, 129-134.

Hein, I. - Satzinger, H. 1989. *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien. Fasc. 4*, Mainz.

Helck, W. 1954. *Untersuchungen zu den Beamstentiteln des ägyptischen Altes Reiches (ÄF, 18)*, Glückstadt..

Helck, W. 1955. 'Die Berufung des Viziers Wsr', in O. Firchow (ed.), *Aegyptologische Studien*, Berlin, 107-117.

Helck, W. 1956. 'Inhaber und Bauleiter des thebanischen Grabs 107', *MIO* 4, 11-26

Helck, W. 1958. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, Leiden.

Helck, W. 1960. 'Die Lehre des Djedefhor und die Lehre eines Vaters an seinen Sohn', *OrAnt* 8, 189-208.

Helck, W. 1961. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*, Berlin.

- Helck, W. 1961-1969. *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, 6 vols., Wiesbaden.
- Helck, W. 1967. Eine Briefsammlung aus der Verwaltung des Amuntempels', *JARCE* 6, 135-151.
- Helck, W. 1968. 'Ritualszenen in Karnak', *MDAIK* 23, 117-137.
- Helck, W. 1969a. 'Einer stele Sobekhoteps IV. aus Karnak', *MDAIK* 24, 194-198.
- Helck, W. 1969b. *Der Text der Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn*, Wiesbaden.
- Helck, W. 1974. *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. Und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Munich.
- Helck, W. 1975a. *Historisch-biographische texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden.
- Helck, W. 1975b, 'Die grosse Stela des Vizekönigs Št3w aus Wadi es-Sabua', *SAK* 3, 85-112.
- Helck, W. 1982. 'Palastverwaltung', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ* IV, 647-652.
- Helck, W. 1984. 'Residenz', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ* V, 246-247.
- Helck, W. 1986. 'Titel und Titulaturen', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ* VI, 596-601.
- Hinrichs J. C. (ed.) 1924. *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 2, Leipzig.
- Hirsch, E. 2009. 'Residences in the Text of Senwosret I', in R. Gundlach - J. H. Taylor (eds.), *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 4,1. 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie. Egyptian Royal Residences. London, June 1st-5th 2004*, Wiesbaden, *Königsideologie. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 4,1*, Wiesbaden, 69-82.
- Hodjache, S. 1971. *Les Antiquités Égyptiennes au Musée des Beaux-Arts Pouchkine*, Moscow.
- Hodjache, S. – Berlev, O. 1975. *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (AoF, 3)*, Leningrad.
- Hoffmeier, J. K. 1985. *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt: The term dsr with particular reference to Dynasties I-XX (OBO, 59)*, Freiburg, 177-83.

Hofmann, E. 1995. *Das Grab der Neferrenpet, gen. Kenro, TT 178 (Theben, 9)*, Mainz and Rhein.

Hölscher, U. 1912. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, Leipzig.

Hölscher, U. 1929. *Medinet Habu 1924-1928. II The Architectural Survey of the Great Temple and Palace of Medinet Habu (season 1927-28) (OIC, 5)*, Chicago.

Hölscher, U. 1932. *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu II. Later Historical Records of Ramses III (OIP, 9)*, Chicago.

Hölscher, U. 1939. *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II: The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, Chicago.

Hölscher, U. 1941. *The Excavation of Medinet Habu III, The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, part 1 (OIP, 54)*, Chicago.

Hölscher, U. 1951. *The Excavations of Medinet Habu, IV. The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, part 2 (OIP, 55)*, Chicago.

Holwerda, A. E. J. - Boeser, P. A. A. 1908. *Aegyptische Sammlung im Leiden. Die Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, Atlas.

Hornemann, B. 1951. *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, 7 vols., Copenhagen.

Hornung, E. 1961. 'Die Grabkammer des Vezirs User', *NAWG* 5, 99-120.

Hornung, E. 1993. *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, New York.

Hornung, E. - Staehelin, E. 1974. *Studien zum Sedfest (Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 1)*, Basel.

Hornung, E. – Staehelin, E. 2006. *Neue Studien zum Sedfest (Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 20)*, Basel.

HTBM I-X = 1911-1982. James, T. H. G. 1911-1993. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*, 10 vols., London.

James, T. G. H. 1974. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum, Part I: From Dynasty I to the End of the XVII*, Brooklyn.

Janosi, P. 1992. 'Recent Excavations of the Austrian Archaeological Institute of the village of 'Ezbet Helmi/Tell el-Qirqaqa near Tell el-Dab'a', in *Atti del Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia I*, Turin, 345-349.

Janosi, P. 1996, 'Die Fundamentplattform eines Palastes (?) der späten Hyksoszeit in 'Ezbet Helmi (Tell el-Dab'a)', in M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten. International Symposium in Cairo, April 8. to 11. 1992*, Wien, 93-98.

Jannsen, J. M. A. 1952. 'La Stèle de Montouehat trouvé à Sena', *AO* 20, 442-5.

Jannsen, J. M. A. 1955. 'Der Hocker des Djedchonsuiwefanch, Probe einer Übersetzung der Inschriften Kairo 559', in V. Lisch (ed.) *Università di Pisa, Studi in Memoria di Ippolito Rossellini II*, Pisa, 119-29.

Jansen-Winkel, K. 1985. *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie; Teil 1: Übersetzung und Kommentar; Teil 2: Phraseologie; Teil 3: Texte (ÄUAT, 8)*, Wiesbaden.

Jansow, R. 1992. *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135) (SAOC, 52)*, Chicago-Illinois.

JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.

Jaritz, H. 1992. 'Der Totentempel des Merenptah in Qurna. 1. Grabungsbericht (1.-6. Kampagne)', *MDAIK* 48, 65-91.

Jaritz, H. 1996. 'The Temple Palace of Merenptah in his House of Million Years at Qurna', in M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten. International Symposium in Cairo, April 8. to 11. 1992*, Wien, 99-106.

JEA = The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

Jeffreys, D. G. 1985. *The Survey of Memphis – Part One: the Archaeological Report*, London.

Jelinkova-Reymond, E. 1957. 'Quelques recherches sur les réformes d'Amasis', *ASAE* 54, 251-287.

Jelinkova, E. 1958. 'Un Titre Saïte emprunté à l'Ancien Empire', *ASAE* 55, 79-125.

JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies

Junge, F. 2003. *Die Lehre Ptahoteps und die Tugenden der ägyptischen Welt (OBO, 193)*, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Jürgen, S. 1983. *Aegyptiaca im Kurfürstlich-Brandenburgischen Besitz: ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Ägyptischen Museums Berlin*, Berlin.

- Jurman, C. 2006. *BW H₁RJ H₁M=F – The Place Where His Majesty Dwells. Some remarks about the localisation of royal palace, residence and central administration in Late Period Egypt*, Thesis (MPhil), University of Birmingham.
- Kaiser, W. 1987. 'Der Torfassade des spätzeitlichen Palastbezirkes von Memphis', *MDAIK* 43, 123-144.
- Kamal, A. B. 1919, 'Rapport de fouilles faites dans la montagne de Sheïkh Saïd', *ASAE* 10, 145-154.
- Kamal, M. 1938, 'The stela of Stp-*ib-t-r*' in the Egyptian Museum', *ASAE* 38, 265-83.
- Kamal, M. 1940, 'The stela of Stp-*ib-t-r*' in the Egyptian Museum (verso)', *ASAE* 40, 209-229.
- Kampp, F. 1996. *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, 2 vols. (*Theben*, 13), Mainz and Rhein.
- Känel, F. v. 1984. *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket*, Paris.
- Karkowski, J. 1981. *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, Warszawa.
- Kees, H. 1958a. 'Die weisse Kapelle Sesostri I in Karnak und das Sedfest', *MDAIK* 16, 194-213.
- Kees, H. 1958b. *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit, Indices und Nachträge*, Buch.
- Kees, H. 1915. 'Eine Liste Memphitischer Götter im Tempel von Abydos', *RT* 37, 57-76.
- Kees, H. 1923-28. *Da Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re*, Leipzig.
- Kees H., 1958. *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit . Indices und Nachträge (PdÄ, 1)*, Leiden - Cologne.
- Kees, H. 1964. *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Athiopienzeit*, Leiden.
- Kemp, B. J. 1976a. 'The window of appearance at el-Amarna and the basic structure of this city', *JEA* 62, 81-99.
- Kemp, B. J. 1976b. 'Postscript to the article on the "Window of Appearance"', *JEA* 62, 197.
- Kemp, B. J. 1977a. 'The Palace of Apries at Memphis', *MDAIK* 33, 101-8.

- Kemp, B. J. 1977b. 'The City of El-Amarna as a Source for the Study of Ancient Society in Ancient Egypt, *World Archaeology* 9/2, 123-129.
- Kemp, B. J. 1978a. 'A further Note on the Palace of Apries at Memphis', *GM* 29, 61-2.
- Kemp, B. J. 1978b. 'The Harim Palace at Medinet el-Ghurab', *ZÄS* 105, 122-133.
- Kemp, B. J., 1983. 'Preliminary report on the El-'Amarna expedition, 1981-2', *JEA* 69, 18-20.
- Kemp, B. J. 1991. *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization*, London and New York.
- Kemp, B. J. 1998. 'More of Amarna's city plan', *EA* 13, 17-18.
- Kemp, B. J. - Garfi, S. 1993. *A Survey of the Ancient City of El-'Amarna. (EES Occasional Publications, 9)*, London.
- Kemp, B. J. – O'Connor, D. 1974. 'An Ancient Nile Harbour: University Museum Excavations at the Birket Habu', *International Journal of Nautical Archeology and Underwater Exploration* 3, 101-36.
- Kemp, B. J. - Weatherhead, F. 2000. Palace decoration at Tell el-Amarna, in S. Sherratt (ed.), *The Wall Paintings of Thera, Proceedings of the First International Symposium 30 August-4 September 1997, 1*, Athens, 491-523.
- Kitchen, K. A. 1975-76. 'The Great Biographical Stela of Setau, Viceroy of Nubia', *Orientalia Levaniensia Periodica* 6-7, 295-302.
- Kitchen, K. A. 1991. 'The Royal Secretary Tjay: His Family and Nameplate', *BACE* 2, 169-74.
- Kitchen, K. A. 1996. 'Sinuhe: Scholarly Method versus Trendy Fashion', *BACE* 7, 55-63.
- Koch, R. 1990. *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe (BAe, 17)*, Bruxelles.
- KRI I-VIII: Kitchen, K. A. 1968-1990. *Ramesside Inscriptions*, 8 vols., Oxford.
- Koefoed-Petersen, O. 1948. *Les steles égyptiennes*, Copenhagen.
- Knudtzon J. A. 1915. *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln III. Anmerkungen und Register bearbeitet von Weber und E. Ebeling*, Leipzig.
- Kruchten, J. M. 1981. *Le Décret d'Horemheb*, Bruxelles.
- Kuentz, C. 1920. 'l'Akhut ou soi-disant horizon' *BIFAO* 17, 121-125.

- Kuentz, M. C. 1925. 'Stèle du Mariage de Ramsès II', *ASAE* 25, 181-238.
- Kuentz, M. C. 1928-1943. *La Bataille de Qadech* (MIFAO, 55), Cairo.
- Kuhlmann, K. 1977. *Der Thron im alten Ägypten. Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Iconographie und Symbolism einer Herrschaftszeichens* (ADAIK, 10), Glückstadt.
- Kuhlmann, K. P. - Schenkel, W. 1972. 'Vorbericht über die Aufnahmearbeiten im Grab des Ibi', *MDAIK* 28, 201-211.
- Kuhlmann, K. P. - Schenkel, W. 1983. *Das Grab des Ibi*, Mainz.
- LÄ I-VI: Helck, E. & Otto, E. (eds.) 1975. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 6 vols., Wiesbaden.
- Lacau, P. 1909. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo.
- Lacau, P. 1939. 'Une stèle du Roi «Kamosis»', *ASAE* 39, 246-271.
- Lacau, P. - Chevrier, H. 1977-79. *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, Cairo.
- Lacovara, P. 1980. 'Archeological survey of Deir el-Ballas', *NARCE* 113, pp. 3-4.
- Lacovara, P. 1981. 'The Hearst Excavations at Deir el-Ballas; the Early New Kingdom Town', in W. K. Simpson - W. M. Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan: Essays in Honour of Dows Dunham*, Boston, 119-124.
- Lacovara, P. 1985. 'Preliminary Report on Deir el-Ballas Expedition 1985', *NARCE* 129, 17-29.
- Lacovara, P. 1993. *State and Settlement: Deir el Ballas and the Development, Structure, and Function of the New Kingdom Royal City*, Thesis (Ph. D.), University of Chicago.
- Lacovara, P. 1996. 'Deir el-Ballas and New Kingdom Royal Cities', in M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten, Internationales Symposium* 8. Bis 11. April 1992 in Kairo, Vienna, 139-147.
- Lacovara, P. 1997. *The New Kingdom Royal City*, London.
- Lacovara, P. 2009. 'The Development of the New Kingdom Royal Palace', in R. Gundlach - J. H. Taylor (eds.), *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 4,1. 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie. Egyptian Royal Residences. London, June 1st-5th 2004*, Wiesbaden, 83-110.

Laisney, V. P.-M. 2007. *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior, 19), Rome.

Lange, H. O. 1925. *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope*, Copenhagen.

Lange, O. H. - Schäfer, H. 1902-25. *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches. Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, 4 vols., Berlin.

Lansing, A. 1918. 'Excavations at the Palace of Amenhotep III at Thebes', *BMMA* 13, March. Supplement, 8-14.

LAPO = Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient. Les éditions du Cerf, Paris.

Lapp, G. 1997. *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477). Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum I*, London.

Leclant, J. 1979. *Ägypten. I: Das Alte und das Mittlere Reich. Von der Vorgeschichte bis zum Ende der Hyksoszeit (1560 v.Chr.)*, München.

Leclant, J. 1984. 'Soleb', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ V*, 1076-80.

Leahy, M. A. 1978. *Excavations at Malkata and the Birket Habu, 1971-1974, 4: The Inscriptions*, Warminster.

Leahy, M. A. 1985. 'The hieratic labels 1979-82', in B. J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports II*, London, 65-109.

Leahy, A. 1988. 'The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries', *JEA* 74, 189-199.

Lanny, B. 1985. 'Luxor temple and the cult of the royal ka', *JNES* 44, 251-94.

Lefebvre, G. 1924. 'Monuments relatifs à Amon de Karnak', *ASAE* 24, 135-145.

Lefebvre, G. 1949. *Romans and contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*, Paris.

Legrain, M. G. 1902. 'Le Temple de Ptah Rîs-Anbou-f dans Thèbes', *ASAE* 3, 97-114.

Legrain, M.G. 1903a. 'Logoglyphes hiéroglyphiques', *ASAE* 4, 136-149.

Legrain, M. G. 1903b. 'Notes d'Inspection. La Chapelle de Senmaout à Gebel Silsileh', *ASAE* 4, 193-197.

Legrain, M. G. 1907a. 'La grande stele de Toutankhamanou a Karnak', *RT* 29, 162-173.

- Legrain, M. G. 1907b 'Notes d'inspection', *ASAE* 8, 248-275.
- Legrain, G. A. 1906-25. *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers. Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo.
- Legrain, G. 1914. 'Recherches sur la famille dont fit partie Montouemhat', *RT* 36, 57-71.
- Leitz, C. 2002. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, 7 vols. (*OLA*, 110-116), Leuven, Paris, and Dudley.
- Lepper, V. M. 2008. *Untersuchungen zu pWestcar. Eine philologische und literaturwissenschaftliche (Neu-)Analyse*, Wiesbaden.
- Lepsius, R. 1973. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestaet dem Koenige von Preussen Friedrich Wihelm IV nach diesen Laendern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgefuehrten wissenschaftlichen Expedition*, Geneve.
- Lesko, L. H. (ed.) 1982-84. *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 2 vols., Berkeley.
- Lichtheim, M. 1973-1980. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 vols., Berkeley, Los Angeles and London.
- Lichtheim M. 1988. *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdoms: a Study and an Anthology* (*OBO*, 84), Fribourg.
- Lichtheim, M. 1992. *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (*OBO*, 120), Frieberg-Göttingen.
- Lichtheim M. 1996. 'Didactic Literature', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Leiden, 243-262.
- Linage, J. de. 1939. 'L'acte d'établissement et le contrat de mariage d'un esclave sous Thoutmès III', *BIFAO* 38, 217-234.
- LinAe* = Lingua Aegyptia.
- Liverani, M. 1990. *Prestige and interest. International relation in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.* Padova.
- Loeben, C. 1986. 'Eine Bestattung der Grossen Königlichen Gemahlin Nofretete in Amarna? Die Totenfigur der Nofretete', *MDAIK* 42, 99-102.

- Lloyd, A. B. 1983. 'The Late Period, 664-323 B.C.', in B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp – D. O'Connor – A. B., Lloyd (eds.), *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*, Cambridge, 279-348.
- Lloyd, A. B. 2000. 'The Late Period (664–332 BC)', in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford and New York, 369-394
- Loprieno, A. 1996. 'Defining Ancient Egyptian Literature', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature (PdÄ,10)*, Leiden – New York – Cologne, 45-55.
- Loret, V. 1889. *La tombe de Khâ-m-hâ (MMAF, 1)*, Cairo.
- Lorton, D. 1991. 'What was the pr-nsw and who managed it? Aspects of royal administration in 'The Duties of the Vizier', *SAK* 18, 291-316.
- Loud, G. 1948. *Megiddo II: season of 1935-39*, Chicago.
- Löhr, B. 1975. 'Ahanjati in Memphis', *SAK* 2, 139-87.
- Lüddeckens, Von E. 1943. 'Untersuchungen über religiösen. Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenkla- gen', *MDAIK* 11, 1-188.
- Luiselli, M. M. 2004. *Der Amun-Re Hymnus des P. Boulaq 17 (P. Kairo CG 58038). Kleine ägyptische Texte 14*, Wiesbaden .
- Mace, A. C. 1911. *The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, New York.
- Maciver, D. R. - Wooley, C. L. 1911. *Buhen*, 2 vols., Philadelphia.
- Macadam, M. F. L. 1946. 'Gleanings from the Bankes Manuscripts', *JEA* 32, 57-64.
- Macadam, M. F. L. 1949. *The Temples of Kawa I*, 2 vols., Oxford.
- MacKay, E. 1914. 'Report of the Excavations and Other Work Carried out in the Necropolis of Thebes', *ASAE* 14, 88-96.
- Malek, J. 1989. 'New Kingdom personnel in Tety Pyramid cemeteries III, a preliminary list', *New Kingdom Memphis Newsletter* 2, 4-7.
- Manuelian, P. D. 1994. *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*, London.
- Manuelian, P. D. (ed.) 1996. *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 2 vols., Boston.

Mariette, A. E. 1869-80. *Abydos – Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville*, 3 vols., Paris.

Mariette, A. E. 1871-1876. *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, Paris.

Mariette, A. E. 1875. *Karnak: étude topographique et archéologique avec un appendice comprenant principaux textes hiéroglyphiques découverts ou recueillis pendant les fouilles exécutées à Karnak par Auguste Mariette-Bey*, Leipzig.

Mariette, A. E. 1877. *Deir el-Bahari: documents topographiques, historiques et ethnographiques recueillis dans ce temple pendant les fouilles exécutées par Auguste Mariette-bey*, Leipzig.

Mariette, A. E. 1880. *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*, Paris.

Marohn, G. 1955. 'Ein wiedergefundenes Relieffragment aus dem Grab des Veziers Paser (TT 106)', *GM* 149, 63-66.

Martin, G. T. 1971. *Egyptian Administrative and Private Seals principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*. Griffith Institute Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Martin, G. T. 1979. 'The New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqâra', in W. F. Reinecke (ed.), *Acts, First International Egyptology, Cairo, October 2-10, 1976*, Berlin, 457-63.

Martin, G. T. 1984. 'Sedfest', W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ V*, 782-790.

Martin, G. T. 1989. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemhab, Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun*, 1, London.

Martin, G. T. 2000. 'Memphis: the status of a residence city in the Eighteenth Dynasty', in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2000*, Praha, 99-120.

Martin-Pardey, E. 1986. 'Die Verwaltung im Alten Reich. Grenzen und Möglichkeiten von Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema', *BiOr* 46, 533- 552.

Maspero, G. 1853. 'La Récit de la champagne contre Mageddo sous Thoutmô III', *RT* 2, 48-56.

Maspero, G. 1867. *Essai sur l'inscription dédicatoire du temple d'Abydos*, Paris.

Maspero, G. 1880. 'Rapport à M. Jules Ferry, ministre de l'Instruction publique sur une mission en Italie', *RT* 2, 159-199.

Maspero, M. G. 1882. 'Rapport à M. Jules Ferry, ministre de l'Instruction publique sur une mission en Italie', *RT* 3, 103-128.

Maspero, G. 1883. 'Rapport a M. Jules Ferry, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur une mission en Italie', *RT* 4, 125-151.

Maspero, G. 1890. 'Monuments égyptiens du Musée de Marseille', *RT* 13, 113-126.

Maspero, G. 1904. 'Les inscriptions du tombeau de Hikoumsaouf', *ASAE* 5, 78-83.

Maspero, G. 1910. 'Notes de Voyage', *ASAE* 10, 131-144.

Maspero, G. 1914. *Les Insegnaments d'Amenemhat Ier à son fils Sanouasrit Ier*, Cairo.

Maspero, G. 1915. *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, Cairo.

Mathieu, M. E. 1956. 'Heb-Sed (sur l'histoire de l'anicenne religion de l'Égypte)', *VDI* (Vestnik Drevnej Istorii) 3 (57): 25-36.

MDAIK = The Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

Meeks, D. 1979. 'Une fondation memphite de Taharqa (Stèle du Caire JE 36861)', in J. Vercoutter (ed.) *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976, vol. 1: Égypte pharaonique (BdE, 81-82)*, 221-259.

Meeks, D. 1980-82. *Année Lexicographique I, 1977; II, 1978; III, 1979*, 3 vols., Paris.

Meyer, C. 1982. *Senenmut: eine proposographische Untersuchung*, Hamburg.

Mekhitarian, A. 1997. 'La tombe de Nebamon et Ipouky (TT 181)', in R. Tefnin (ed.) *La peinture égyptienne ancienne: Un monde de signes à préserver. Actes du colloque international de Bruxelles, avril 1994. (MonAeg, 7, = IMAGO, 1)*, Bruxelles, 21-28.

Menu, B. 1977. 'la <stèle> d'Ahmès Nefertari dans son context historique et juridique', *BIFAO* 77, 89-100.

MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par le members de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

MIO = Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.

Miosi, F. T. (ed.) 1981. *A reading book of Second Intermediate Period Texts. The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Publications, IX*, Toronto.

MMAF = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire.

Moers, G. 1999. Fiktionalität und Intertextualität als Parameter ägyptologischer Literaturwissenschaft. Perspektiven und Grenzen der Anwendung zeitgenössischer Literaturtheorie, in J. Assmann – E. Blumenthal, E. (eds.), *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten. Vorträge der Tagung zum Gedenken an Georges Posener, 5-10. September 1996 in Leipzig (BdE, 127)*, Cairo, 37-52.

Moers, G. 2001. *Fingierte Welten in der ägyptischen Literatur des 2. Jahrtausends v Chr.: Grenzüberschreitung. Reisemotiv und Fiktionalität (PdÄ, 19)*, Leiden – Boston – Cologne.

Mogensen, M. 1930. *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg. La collection égyptienne*, Copenhagen.

Möller, von G. 1920. 'Zur Datierung literarischer Handschriften aus der ersten Hälfte des Neuen Reichs', *ZÄS* 46, 34-43.

MonAeg = Monumenta Aegyptiaca.

Mond, M. R. 1905. 'Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of 1903-1904', *ASAE* 6, 65-96.

Montet, P. 1928. 'Les Tombeaux de Siout et Deir Rifeh', *Kêmi* 1, 53-68.

Montet, P. 1930-35 'Les Tombeaux de Siout et Deir Rifeh', *Kêmi* 3, 45- 132.

Montet, P. 1936. 'Les Tombeaux de Siout et Deir Rifeh', *Kêmi* 6, 131-163.

Montet, P. 1949. 'Inscriptions de basse époque trouvées à Tanis', *Kêmi* 8, 29-126.

Moran, W. L. 1987. *Les lettres d'El-Amarna, correspondance diplomatique du Pharaon (LAPO, 13)*, Paris.

Moret, A. 1902. *Du caractère religieux de la Royauté pharaonique*, Paris.

Moret, A. (ed.) 1909. *Catalogue du Musée Guimet: Galerie égyptienne: stèles, bas-reliefs, monuments divers*, Paris.

Morgan, J. de. 1894-1909. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, Vienne.

- Morgan, J. de. 1895-1903. *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 2 vols., Vienne.
- Morkot, R. G. 1990. 'Nb-M3't-R'-United-with-Ptah', *JNES* 47, 327-337.
- Moursi, M. 1981. 'Die Stele des Vezirs Re-hotep (Kairo JdE 48845)', *MDAIK* 37, 321-29.
- Muhs, B. 1994. 'The Great Temenos of Naukratis', *JARCE* 31, 99-113.
- München Katalog 1972. *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst*, Munich.
- Munro, P. 1960. 'Die beiden Stelen des Wnmj aus Abydos', *ZÄS* 85, 56-70.
- Murnane, W. J. 1975. 'A Note on the Personnel of the Sinai Expeditions in the Reign of Amenemmes III', *GM* 15, 27-3.
- Murnane, W. 1982. 'Opetfest', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ* IV, 574-579.
- Murnane, W. J. 1995. *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, Atlanta.
- Murnane, W. J. - Van Siclen, C. C. 1993. *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*, London.
- Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna 1990. *Il senso dell'Arte nell'Antico Egitto*, Milano.
- Naville, E. 1882. *Le décret de Phtah Totunen en faveur de Ramsès II et Ramsès III* (TSBA, 7), 119-138.
- Naville, E. 1885. *The Store-city of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, London.
- Naville, E. H. 1891. *Bubastis (1887-1889)*, London.
- Naville, E. 1892. *The Festivall Hall of Osorkon Ilin the Great Temple of Bubastis* (EES *Memoirs*, 10), London.
- Naville, E. H. 1895-1908. *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, 6 vols., London.
- Naville, E. 1896. 'Trois inscription de la reine Hatshepsou', in G. Maspero (ed.), *Recueil relatifs a la Philologie et a l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne* 18, Cairo, 91-105.
- Naville, E. 1906. 'Trois inscriptions de la Reine Hatshepsou', *RT* 18, 91-105.
- Naville, E. 1907-13. *The XIth dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari*, 3 vols., London
- Naville, E. H. 1930. *Details relevés dans le ruines de quelques temples égyptiens*, Paris.

Naville, E. H. - Griffith, F. Ll. 1890. *The Mound of the Jew and the city of Onias: Belbeis, Samanood, Abusir, Tukh el Karmus. The antiquities of Tell el Yahûdiyeh and Miscellaneous work in Lower Egypt during the years 1887-1888*, London.

Naville, E. H. - Peet, E. T. - Hall, H. R. 1913-14. *The Cemeteries of Abydos 1-3 (EEF, 33-35, vol. 1)*, London.

Nelson, H. H. 1913. *The Battle of Megiddo*, Chicago.

Nelson, H. H. 1930-1970. *Medinet Habu. The Epigraphic Survey*, 9 vols. (*OIP*, 8,9, 23, 51, 83, 84, 93, 94), Chicago.

Nelson, H.H. 1932. *Medinet Habu, II. The Epigraphic Survey*, Chicago.

Nelson, H. H. (ed.) 1936. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, vol I. Ramses'III Temple within the Great Enclosure of Amon (OIP, 25)*, Chicago.

Nelson, H. H. 1942. 'The identity of Amon-Re of United-With-Eternity', *JNES* 1, 127-155.

Nelson, M. 1986. 'La tombe de Sennefer, maire de Thèbes', *Archéologia* 212, 36-41.

Newberry, P. E. 1893. *Beni Hasan*, 4 vols. (*BSAE*, 1-2, 5, 7), London.

Newberry, P. E. 1894. *El-Bersheh*, 2 vols., London.

Newberry, P. E. 1900. *The Life of Rekhmara: vezîr of Upper Egypt under Thothmes III and Amenhetep II (circa B.C. 1471-1448)*, Westminster.

Newberry, P. E. 1906. *Scarabs: an introduction to the study of Egyptian seals and signet rings*, London.

Newberry, P. E. 1907. *Scarab-shaped seals*, London.

Newberry, P. E. 1928, 'The sons of Tuthmosis IV', *JEA* 14, 82-85.

Newberry, P. E. 1957. *Funerary statuettes and model sarcophagi*, Cairo.

Newton, F. G. 1924. 'Excavations at El-'Amarnah, 1923-24', *JEA* 10, 289-98.

Nelson, H. H. 1981. *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. Part. 1. The Wall Reliefs (OIP, 106)*, Chicago.

Nibbi, A. 1976. 'The two Stelae from Wadi Gasus', *JEA* 62, 45-56.

- Nims, C. F. 1955. 'Places about Thebes', *JNES* 14, 110-123.
- Nishimoto, S. 1991. *Reconstruction of the Scroll Pattern on the Ceiling of the Great Columned Hall at the Malkata Palace*, Waseda University.
- Nishimoto, S. 1992. 'The Ceiling Paintings of the Harem Rooms at the Palace of Malqata', *GM* 127, 69-80.
- Nord, Del 1973. 'Egyptian Words for 'Harem' and 'Concubine' in the Old and Early Middle Kingdoms', *NARCE* 87 (October), 35.
- O'Connor, D. 1980, 'Malkata', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ* III, 1173-7.
- O'Connor, D. 1985. 'The 'Cenotaphs' of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos', in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar (BdE, 97, 2)*, Cairo, 161-177.
- O'Connor, D. 1989. 'City and Palace in New Kingdom Egypt', in *Sociétés urbaine et Égypte et au Sudan (CRIPEL, 11)*, Lille, 73- 87.
- O'Connor, D. 1991. 'Mirror of the Cosmos: the Palace of Merenptah', in E. Bleiberg – R. Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium of Ramesses the Great*, Memphis, 167-198.
- O'Connor, D. 1995. 'Beloved of Maat, the Horizon of Re: the Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt', in D. O'Connor – D. P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Leiden – New York – Köln, 263-300.
- O'Connor, D. 2005. 'The Eastern High Gate. Sexualized Architecture at Medinet Habu?', in P. Janosi (ed.), *Structure and Significance. Thoughts on ancient Egyptian architecture*, Wien, 439-54.
- O'Connor, D. 2010. 'The King's Palace at Malkata and the Purpose of the Royal Harem', in Z. Hawass – J. H. Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees, Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman, Cahier no. 39*, Cairo, 55-80.
- Ockinga, B. 1993. 'Macquarie University Theban Tombs Project, TT 148: Amenemope, Preliminary Report on 1991/2 and 1992/3 Seasons', *BACE* 4, 41-50.
- Ockinga, B. 1996. 'Macquarie Theban Tombs Project, TT 148: The Tomb of Amenemope, Report on the 1994/1995 and 1995/1996 Seasons', *BACE* 7, 65-73.

Ockinga, B. 2009. *The Tomb of Amenemope (TT 148), I: Architecture, Texts and Decoration (RACE, 27)*, Oxford.

OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta.

Onasch, H. U. 1994. *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens, 2 vols. (ÄAT 27/1-2)*, Harrassowitz and Wiesbaden 1994.

OrAnt = Oriens Antiquus.

Oren, E. D. 1997. *The Hyksos: new historical and archaeological perspectives*, Philadelphia.

Osing, J. 1982. 'Pharaoh', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ IV*, 1021.

Osing, J. 1992a. *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawyet Sultan (AV, 88)*, Mainz.

Osing, J. 1992b. 'Zu zwei literarischen Werken des Mittleren Reiches', in J. Osing – E. K. Nielsen (eds.), *The heritage of ancient Egypt: studies in honour of Erik Iversen (CNI Publication 13)*, Copenhagen, 101-19.

Otto, E. 1952. *Topographie des Thebanischen Inschriften Gaues*, Berlin.

Otto, E. 1954. *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit (PdÄ, 2)*, Leiden, 164-166.

Page, A. 1976. *Egyptian Sculpture Archaic to Saite from the Petrie Collection*, Westminster.

Parkinson, R. B. 1991. *Voices from Ancient Egypt. An anthology of Middle Kingdom writings*, London.

Parkinson, R. B. 1996. Types of Literature in the Middle Kingdom, in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature, History & Forms*, Leiden, 297-312.

Parkinson, R. B. 1997. *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940-1640 BC*, Oxford.

Parkinson, R. B. 2002. *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection*, London.

Peet, T. E. 1914a. *The cemeteries of Abydos. Part II*, London.

Peet, T. E. 1914b. *The stela of Sebek-khu: the earliest record of an Egyptian campaign in Asia*, Manchester.

Peet, T. E. 1920. *The Mayer Papyri A & B: nos. 11162 and M. 11186 of the Free Public Museums*, Liverpool.

Peet, T. E. 1925. 'Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes', *JEA* 11, 37-55.

Peet, T. E. 1930. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, Oxford.

Peet, T. E. - Woolley, C. L. 1923. *The City of Akhenaten*, Part I. *Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at El-'Amarneh*, London.

Peet, T. E. – Wolley, L. – Frankfort H. – Pendlebury J. D. S. 1923-1951. *The city of Akhenaten*, 2 vols. (*EES MEMOIRS*, 38-40), London.

Pendlebury, J. D. S. 1931. 'Preliminary report on excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah 1930-1', *JEA* 17, 233-43.

Pendlebury, J. D. S. 1932. 'Preliminary report on excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah 1931-2', *JEA* 18, 143-9.

Pendlebury, J. D. S. '1936. 'Summary Report on the Excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah', *JEA* 22, 194-8.

Pendlebury, J. D. S. 1951. *The City of Akhenaten III. the Central City and the Official Quarters* (*EES MEMOIRS*, 44), London.

Perdu, O. 1986. 'Prologue à un corpus', *BSFE* 105, 23-37.

Petrie, W. M. F. 1886. *Naukratis I, 1884-5* (*EEF*, 3), London.

Petrie, W. M. F. 1888a. *Tanis. Part 2, Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, London.

Petrie, W. M. F. 1888b. *A Season in Egypt 1887*, London.

Petrie, W. M. F. 1891. *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob* (*BSAE*, 75), London.

Petrie, W. M. 1892. *Ten years' digging in Egypt*, London.

Petrie, W. M. F. 1894. *Tell el-Amarna*, London.

Petrie, W. M. F. 1896. *Koptos*, London.

Petrie, W. M. F. 1897. *Six Temples at Thebes*, Paris.

- Petrie, W. M. F. 1909. *The Palace of Apries at Memphis*, London.
- Petrie, W. M. F. 1917. *Scarabs and Cylinders with names (illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College)*, London.
- Petrie, W. M. F. 1925. *Buttons and design scarabs; illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College*, London.
- Petrie, W. M. F. 1926. 'The Spencer Churchill Scarabs', *AE* 1, 12-14.
- Petrie, W. M. F. 1931. *Ancient Gaza, Vol. 1, Tell el Ajjûl (BSAE, 53)*, London.
- Petrie, W. M. F. – Brunton, G. 1924. *Sedment I + II (BSAE, 34-35)*, London.
- Petrie, W.M.F. - Brunton, G. - Murray, M. A. 1923. *Lahun II (BSAE, 33)*, London
- Petrie, W. M. F. - Wainwright, G. A. - Gardiner A. H. 1913. *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, London.
- Piankoff, A. 1933. 'Le naos D29 du Musée du Louvre', *RdÉ* 1, 161-179.
- Piccato, A. 1997. 'The Berlin Leather Roll and the Egyptian Sense of History', *LingAeg* 5, 137-59
- Piehl, K. 1886-1903. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Égypte*, 3 vols., Stockholm.
- Piehl, K. 1890. 'Doit-on accepter l'hypothèse d'un règne simultané d'Apries et d'Amasis?', *ZÄS* 28, 9-15.
- Piehl, K. 1982. *Quelques textes égyptiens empruntés à des monuments, conservés au Musée de Stockholm. Actes du huitième congrès international des orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania, Quatrième Partie, Sections III*, Leiden.
- Piehl, K. 1983. 'Saitica', *ZÄS* 31, 84-91.
- Piehl, K. 1984. 'Saitica: La statue A 93 du musée du Louvre', *ZÄS* 32, 118-122.
- Piehl, K. 1986. 'Saitica: La statue A 93 du musée du Louvre', *ZÄS* 34, 81-92.
- Pieper, M. 1929. *Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos: ein Beitrag zur ägyptischen Religions- und Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig.
- Pier, G. C. 1905-6. 'Typical Middle Kingdom Scarabs', *AJSLL* 22, 41-2.

- Pier, G. C. 1906. 'Historical scarab seals from the Art Institute Collection, Chicago', *AJSLL* 23, 75-94.
- Pier, G. C. 1906-7, 'Historical Scarab Seals from the Art Institute Collection', *AJSLL* 23, 75-96.
- Pierre, L. - Chevrier, H. 1956. *Une Chapelle de Sésostri Ier à Karnak I*, Cairo.
- Pierret, P. 1874-78. *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre*, Paris.
- Pillet, M. 1924. 'Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)', *RT* 24, 53-88.
- Pleyte, W. - Rossi U. 1869-1876. *Papyrus de Turin*, Leiden.
- PM = Porter, B. - Moss, R. 1951. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Oxford.
- Posener, G. 1934. 'Notes sur la stèle de Naucratis', *ASAE* 34, 141-148.
- Posener, G. 1936. 'La première nomination en Égypte', *BdE* 11, 1-29.
- Posener, G. 1951. 'La date de la statue A 94 du Louvre', *RdÉ* 6, 234-5.
- Posener, G. 1956. *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XIIe dynastie*, Paris.
- Posener, G. 1963. 'Aménémopé 21, 13 et bj3j.t au sens d'oracle', *ZÄS* 90, 98- 102.
- Posener, G. 1976. *L'enseignement loyaliste : sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire*, Geneve.
- Posener, G. 1986. 'Du Nouveau sur Kombabos', *RdÉ* 37, 91-96.
- Posener-Kriéger P. 1976. *Les archives du temple Funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kaka (les Papyrus d'Abousir)*, 2 vols., Cairo.
- Pressl, D. A. 1998. *Beamte und Soldaten. Die Verwaltung in der 26. Dynastie in Ägypten (664-525 v. Chr.)*. *Europäische Hochschulschriften III/779*, Frankfurt on the Main.
- Puillet, P. 1896. 'Le Grand papyrus Harris et le Ruined de Medinet Habu', *RT* 18, 166-176.
- Quack, J. F. 2002. 'Zur Chronologie der demotischen Weisheitsliteratur', in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999*, CNI Publications 27, Copenhagen, 329-342.

Quack, J. E. 2005. *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III. Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur* (EQÄ, 3), Münster.

Quibell, J. E. 1867-1935. *Excavations at Saqqara 1905-08*, Cairo.

Quibell, J. E. 1898. *The Ramesseum*, London.

Quibell, J. E. – Thompson, H. 1912. *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9; 1909-10): The monastery of Apas Jeremias*, Cairo.

Quirke, S. 1986. 'The regular titles of the Late Middle Kingdom', *RdÉ* 37, 107-130.

Quirke, S. 1990. *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom. The Hieratic Documents*, Kent.

Quirke, S. 1991. *Middle Kingdom studies*, New York.

Quirke, S. 1996. 'Narrative literature', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and forms*, Leiden, 263-276.

Quirke, S. 1999. 'Visible and invisible: the king in Administrative papyri of the late Middle Kingdom', in R. Gundlach - W. Seipel (eds.), *Das früher ägyptische Königtum. Akten des 2. Symposiums zur ägyptische Königsideologie in Wien 24.-26.9.1997*, Wiesbaden, 63-71.

Quirke, S. 2004. *Titles and bureau of Egypt 1850-1700 B.C.*, London.

Quirke, S. 2009. 'The Residence in Relations between Places of Knowledge, Production and Power: Middle Kingdom evidence', in R. Gundlach - J. H. Taylor (eds.), *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 4,1. 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie. Egyptian Royal Residences. London, June 1st-5th 2004*, Wiesbaden, 11-130.

Raedler, C. 2004. 'Die Wesire Ramses' II. Netzwerke der Macht', in R. Gundlach – A. Klug (eds.), *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Aussenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, KSG 1, 277-416.

Randall-Maclver, D. – Mace, A. C. 1902. *El Amrah and Abydos, 1899-1901*, London.

Randall-Maclver, D. - Woolley, L. 1911. *Buhen*, Philadelphia.

Ranke, H. 1935-77. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 3 vols., Glückstadt.

Ranke, H. 1943. 'Eine spätsaitische Statue in Philadelphia', *MDAIK* 12, 107-138.

- Ratié, S. 1979. *La reine Hatschepsout: sources et problèmes*, Bruxelles.
- Raven, M. J. 2009. 'Aspects of the Memphite Residence as illustrated by the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis', in R. Gundlach - J. H. Taylor (eds.), *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 4,1. 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie. Egyptian Royal Residences. London, June 1st-5th 2004*, Wiesbaden, 157.
- Redford, D. B. 1967. *History and Chronology of the XVIIIth Dynasty of Egypt – Seven Studies. Near and Middle East Series 3*, Toronto.
- Redford, D. B. 1973. 'Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes I', *JARCE* 10, 77- 94
- Redford, D. B. 1987. 'The Tod Inscription of Senwosret I and early 12th dynasty involvement in Nubia and the South', *JSSEA* 17, 36-55.
- Redford, D. B. 2003. *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, Hardcover.
- Redford, S. 2002. *The Harem Conspiracy. The Murder of Rameses III*, Dekalb.
- Reisner, G. A. 1967. 'Inscribed Monument from Gebel Barkal', *ZÄS* 66, 76-100.
- Reisner, G. A. - Reisner, M. B., 1933, 'Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal, II', *ZÄS* 69, 35-46.
- Reisner, G. A. - Wheeler, N. F. 1930. 'The Art of Seal Carving in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom', *BMFA* 28, 47-55.
- Reisner, G. A. 1955, 'Clay Sealings of Dynasty XIII from Uronarti Fort", *Kush* 3, 26-69.
- Rendsburg, G. A. 2000. 'Literary devices in the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor', *JAOS* 120 (Jan-Mar 2000), 13-23.
- Réville, E. 1881. 'La femme at la mère d'Amasis', *Rev.Eg.* 2, 96-98.
- Rydström, K. T. 1994. 'ḥry-sšt3 In Charge of Secrets, The 300-Year Evolution of a Title', *DE* 28, 53-70.
- Ryholt, K. A. 2000. 'A New Version of the Introduction to the Teachings of 'Onch-Sheshonqy', in P. J. Frandsen - K. Ryholt (eds.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 3. Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies, (CNIP, 22)*, Copenhagen, 113-140.
- Robichon, C. – Varille, A. 1936. *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep: fils de Hapou. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 11*, Le Caire.

- Robins, G. 1993. *Women in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge.
- Roccati, A. 2007. *The Egyptian Museum Turin*, Rome.
- Rodin: 1967-8. Rodin collectionneur Musée Rodin, Paris.
- Roeder, G. 1914. *Naos*, 2 vols., Leipzig.
- Roeder, G. 1924. *Aegyptische Inschriften* aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 2 vols., Leipzig.
- Roeder, G. 1926. *Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen, Die Märchen der Weltliteratur*, Düsseldorf.
- Rössler-Köhler, U. 1991. *Individuelle Haltung zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit. Private Quellen und ihre Königswertung im Spannungsfeld zwischen Erwartung und Erfahrung*, Wiesbaden.
- de Rougé, E. 1877-79. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copies en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique*, Paris.
- Rosquin, I. 2008. 'Les représentations des Palais d'Akhénaton dans les tombes amarniennes, 93-108', in M. Broze – C. Cannuyer – F. Doyen (eds.), *Interprétation. Myths, Croyances et Images au risqué de la réalité, Roland Tefnin (1945-2006) in memoriam* (Acta Orientalia Belgica, 21), Bruxelles.
- Rowe, A. 1930. *The topography and history of Bet Shan: with details of the Egyptian and other inscriptions found on the site Publications of the Palestine section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, Philadelphia.
- Rowe, A. 1940. 'Newly-identified monuments in the Egyptian Museum showing the deification of the dead together with brief details of similar objects elsewhere', *ASAE* 40, 1-67.
- RT = Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.
- Ruffle, J. - Gaballa, G. A. - Kitchen, K. A. (eds.) 1979. *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: studies in honour of H. W. Firman*, Warminster.
- Sadek, A. I. 1980. *The amethyst mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, Warminster.
- SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens.

- el-Sayed, R. 1975. *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités* (BdE, 69), Cairo.
- el-Sayed, A. H. 1977. 'Discovery of the 12th dynasty port at Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea shore', *RdÉ* 29, 138-78.
- el-Sayed, A. M. 2008. 'Amenemhat III au Ouadi Gawasis', *BIFAO* 108, 253-279.
- el-Sayed, A. H. – Tosi, M. 1983. *A Theban Private Tomb no. 295* (AV, 45), Mainz.
- Saleh, J. M. 1970. *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb. Catalogue raisonné des antiquités égyptiennes au Musée Archéologique de Zagreb en Yougoslavie*, Paris.
- Sandman, M. 1938. *Texts from the time of Akhenaten* (BiAeg, 8), Bruxelles.
- SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.
- Sauneron, S. - Yoyotte, J. 1956. 'La champagne nubienne de Psammetique II et sa signification historique', *BIFAO* 50, 157-207.
- Säve-Söderbergh, T. 1957. *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (TT 17, 48, 66, 73) (PTT, 1), Oxford.
- Schäfer, H. 1904. *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III: nach dem Denkstein des Oberschatzmeisters I-Cher-Nofret im Berlin Museum*, Leipzig.
- Schäfer, H. 1905. 'Ein Zug nach der grossen Oase unter Sesostri I', *ZÄS* 42, 124-128.
- Scharff, A. 1922. 'Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie', *ZÄS* 57, 51-68.
- Scharff, A. 1924a. 'Illahun und die mit Königsnamen des Mittl. Reiches gebildeten Ortsnamen', *ZÄS* 59, 51-55.
- Scharff, A. 1924b. 'Briefe aus Illahun', *ZÄS* 52, 20-55.
- Scheil, V. 1891. 'Le Tombeau de Djanni,' in P. Virey (ed.), *Sept tombeaux thébaines* (MMAF 5, 2), Cairo, 591-603.
- Schenkel, W. 1965. *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben. Die Epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.-11. Dynastie Ägyptens* (ÄA, 12), Wiesbaden.
- Schenkel, W. 1975a. 'Die Gräber des P3-tnf-*i* und eines Unbekannten in der thebanischen Nekropole (Nr. 128 und Nr. 129)', *MDAIK* 31, 132-148.

Schenkel, W. 1975b. 'Die Bauinschrift Sesostri I. im Satet-Tempel von Elephantine', *MDAIK* 31, 109-125.

Schiaparelli, E. 1887. *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Antichità Egizie*, Rome.

Schiaparelli, E. 1923-27. *Relazione sui lavori della Missione archeologica italiana in Egitto, anni 1903-1920. Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine*, Turin.

Schulman, A. R. 1969-70. 'Some Remarks on the Alleged "Fall" of Senmūt', *JARCE* 8, 29-50.

Schneider, H. D. 1977. *Shabtis, An Introduction of the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the national Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, 3 vols., Leiden.

Schott, S. 1957. *Wall scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of the Major Paser at Medinet Habu* (SAOC, 30), Chicago.

Schroeder, O. 1914-15. *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 11— 12)*, Leipzig.

Schwartz, J. Brooks G. and Hermann, J. 1984. 'Museum briefs: the Merenptah Palace Project of 1983-84', *Expedition* 26, 31-36.

Scott, N. E. 1956. 'Recent Additions to the Egyptain Collection', *BMMA* 15, 79-92.

SDAIK = Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo.

Seeber, C. - Sadid, Abd-el-Gaffar 1987. *Das Grab des Userhat (TT 56) (ArchVer, 50)*, Mainz.

Sethe, K. 1907-08. 'Die Berufung eines Hohenpriesters des Amon unter Ramses II', *ZÄS* 44, 30-35.

Sethe, K. 1921. 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Amenophis I', *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse*, 101-130.

Sethe, K. 1923. 'Zu den Sachmet-Statuen Amenophis' III', *ZÄS* 58, 43-44.

Sethe, K. 1932. *Das Hatschepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht (Abh. Berlin, 1932, Nr. 4)*, Berlin.

Sethe, K. 1933. *Urkunden des Alten Reiches I*, Leipzig.

Sethe, K. 1959. *Aegyptische Lesestücke. Texte des Mittleren Reiches*, Darmstadt.

- Seyfried, K. J. 1981. *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ostwüste*, Hildesheim.
- Sharpe, S. 1837-55. *Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources*, London.
- Shaw, G. 2010. 'The meaning of the phrase *M H M N STP-S3*', *JEA* 96, 175-190.
- Shaw, I. (ed.) 2000. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Shubert, S. B. 1989. 'Realistic Currents in Portrait Sculpture of the Saite and Persian Periods in Egypt', *JSSEA* 19, 27-47.
- Simpson, W. K. 1959. 'Historical and Lexical Notes on the New Series of Hammamat Inscriptions', *JNES* 18, 20-37.
- Simpson, W. C. 1963. 'Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty: I. The Residence of Itjtowy', *JARCE* 2, 54-5.
- Simpson, W. K. 1963-1986. *Papyrus Reisner I-IV, transcription and commentary*, Boston.
- Simpson, W. K. 1965. *P. Reisner*, 2. vols. Boston.
- Simpson, W. K. 1972. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*, New Haven and London.
- Simpson, W. K. 1974. *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: Offering Chapel of Dynasties 12 and 13*, New Haven.
- Simpson, W. K. (ed.), et al. 2003. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. 3rd. ed.*, New Haven and London.
- Simpson, W. K. – Davies, W. (eds.) 1980. *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in honour of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday*, Boston.
- Smith, H. S. 1976. *The fortress of Buhen: the inscriptions*, London.
- Smith, H. S. 1980. 'The Story of 'Onchsheshonqy'', *Serapis* 6, 154-156.
- Smith, H. S. 1966. 'Kor. Report on the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at Kor, 1965', *Kush* 14, 187-243.

- Smith, W. S. 1998. *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, revised with additions by William Kelly Simpson*, New Haven and London.
- Smith, H. S. - Tait, W. J. 1983. *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri I (P. Dem. Saq. I)*, EES Texts from Excavations 7, London.
- Smither, P. 1945. 'The Semna Despatches', *JEA* 31, 3-10.
- Smither, P. C. 1948. 'The report concerning the slave-girl Senbet', *JEA* 34, 31-34.
- Smither, C. - Dakin, A. N. 1939. 'Stelae in the Queen's College, Oxford', *JEA* 25, 157-165.
- Spalinger, A. J. 1985. 'Notes on the Day Summary Accounts of P. Boulaq 18 and the Intradepartmental Transfers', *SAK* 12, 179-241.
- Spalinger, A. J. 2000. 'Festivals', in Redford, D. B. (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 521-25.
- Speleers, P. L. 1921. 'La Stèle de Maï du Musée de Bruxelles (E.5300)', *RT* 39, 113-144.
- Spence, K., 1999. 'The North Palace at Amarna', *EA* 15, 14-16.
- Spence K.E. 2007. 'Court and palace in ancient Egypt: The Amarna period and later Eighteenth Dynasty', in A. J. S. Spawforth (ed.), *The court and court society in ancient monarchies*, Cambridge – New York, 267-328.
- Spence, K. 2009. 'The Palaces of el-Amarna: Towards an architectural analysis', in R. Gundlach - J. H. Taylor (eds.), *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 4,1. 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie. Egyptian Royal Residences. London, June 1st-5th 2004*, Wiesbaden, 165-187.
- Spencer, P. 1984. *The Egyptian Temple. A lexicographical study*, London.
- Spencer, A. J. 1996. *Excavations at Tell El-Balamun, 1991-1994*, London.
- Spencer, A. J. 1999. 'Casemate Foundations once again, in A. Leahy – J. Tait (eds.) *Studies in Honour of H. S. Smith (Occasional EES Publication, 13)*, London, 295-330.
- Spiegelberg, W. 1869. *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (circa 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches*, Strassbourg.
- Spiegelberg, W. 1897. 'Varia', *RT* 19, 86-101.

Spiegelberg, W. 1898. *Hieratic ostraka & papyri found by J. E. Quibell in the Ramesseum, 1895-6*, London

Spiegelberg, W. 1900. 'Die Nothampton stele', *RT* 22, 115-125.

Spiegelberg, W. 1908. *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du muse du Caire. Die demotischen Denkmäler 30601-31270, 50001-50022, vol. II. Die demotischen Papyrus, Text/Tafeln*, Strassbourg.

Spiegelberg, W. - Pörter, B. 1902. *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen*, Strassbourg.

Stadelmann, R. 1973. 'Templepalast und Erscheinungsfenster in den thebanischen Totentempeln', *MDAIK* 27, 221-242.

Stadelmann, R. 1979. 'Totentempel und Millionenjahrhaus in Theben', *MDAIK* 35, 303-21.

Stadelmann, R. 1985. 'Totentempel III', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ* VI, 706–11.

Stadelmann, R. 1994. 'Royal Palaces of the Late New Kingdom in Thebes', in B. M. Bryan (ed.), *Essays in Egyptology in Honour of Hans Goedicke*, San Antonio, 309-16.

Stadelmann, R. 1996. 'Temple Palace and Residential Palace', in M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten. Internationales Symposium 8. Bis 11. April 1992 in Kairo (UÖAIK, 14)*, Cairo, 225-230.

Stadelmann, R. 2001. 'Palaces', in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford.

Steindorff, G. 1937. *Aniba. Mission archéologique de Nubie 1929-1934*, 2 vols., Glückstadt and Hamburg.

Stern, L. 1874. 'Urkunden über den Bau des Sonnentempels zu On. Eine hieratische Handschrift im königlichen Museum zu Berlin', *ZÄS* 12, 85-96.

Stewart, H. M. 1971. 'A Crossword Stela Hymn to Mutu', *JEA* 57, 87-104.

Stewart, H. M. 1976-83. *Egyptian Stelae, Rieliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, Warmister.

Strudwick, N. 1985. *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders*, London and New York.

Szafrański, Z. E. 1980. 'Problematyka stel 2 drugiego okresu przejściowego pochodzących z Edfu w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie* 24, 7-62.

Szafrański Z. E. 1998. 'The Djadjawy of the Palace of Amenemheat I at Tell el-Dab'a', *Ä&L* 8, 102-106.

Taylor, J. H. 2001. *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, London.

Tallet, P. 2005. 'Un nouveau témoin des 'Devoirs du Vizier' dans la tombe d'Aménémopé (Thèbes, TT 29)', *CdE* 80, 66-75.

Teeter, E. 1997. *The presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt* (SAOC, 57), Chicago.

Thomas A. P. 1981. *Gurob: a New Kingdom town, I*, Warminster.

Tylor, J. J. 1985. *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: the tomb of Paheri*, London.

Tytus, R. de P. 1903. *A Preliminary on the Re-excavation of the palace of Amenhotep III*, New York.

Tosi, M. - Roccati, A. 1971. *Stele ed altre epigrafi di Deir el-Medina n. 50001-50262. Catalogo del Museo egizio di Torino. Serie 2, Collezioni*, Torino.

Trapani, M. 2002. 'Une nouvelle enquête sur la stèle d'Ahmès Néfertari', *ZÄS* 129, 152-165.

Troy, L. 1986. *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history*, Uppsala.

TTS = The Theban Tomb Series.

Tufnell, O. 1984. *Studies on Scarab Seals. Scarab Seals and their Contribution to History in the early Second Millennium B. C. Vol. II-Vol. II Part 2*, Warminster.

Ullmann, M. 2002. *König für die Ewigkeit – Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten (Ägypten und Altes Testament 51)*, Wiesbaden.

Uphill, E. 1970. 'The Per Aten at Amarna', *JNES* 29, 151-66.

URK IV: Helck, W. 1955-58. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Berlin.

- Vandersleyen, C. 1967, 'Un tempête sous le règne d'Amosis, *RdE* 19, 151-153.
- Vandersleyen, C. 1975. *Das alte Ägypten*, Berlin.
- Van de Boorn, G. P. F. 1985. 'Wd'-ryt and Justice at the Gate', *JNES* 44, 6-10.
- Van de Boorn, G. P. F. 1989. *The Duties of the vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*, London and New York.
- Van den Boorn, G. P. F. 1985. 'Wd'-ryt and Justice at the Gate', *JNES* 44, 1-25.
- van de Walle, B. 1971. 'La statue-bloc du «Directeur des Travaux» Hor (MMA, Ny, 23.8)', *ZÄS* 97, 130-140.
- Van Siclen, C. C. 1985. 'The city of Basta, an interim report', *NARCE* 128, 28-39.
- Van Siclen, C. C. 1996. 'Remarks on the Middle Kingdom Palace at Tell Basta', in M. Bietak (ed.) *Haus und Palast in Ältem Ägypten. Internationales Symposium 8 bis 11. April 1992 in Kairo (UZKÖAI, 14)*, Wien, 239-246.
- Varille, M. A. 1930. 'Une Stèle du vizir Ptahmes contemporain d'Aménophis III (n° 88 du Musée de Lyon)', *BIFAO* 31, 497-507.
- Varille, M. A. 1940. 'L' appel aux visiteurs du tombeau de Khaemhet', *ASAE* 40, 601-606.
- Vercoutter, J. 1962. 'Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Akhsa by the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition, 1961', *Kush* 10, 109-116.
- Vercoutter, J. 1955. 'Kor est-il Iken? Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles française de Kor (Bouhen sud), Sudan en 1954', *Kush* 3, 4-19.
- Vernus, P. A. 1978. *Textes and documents relatives à la géographie, aux cultes et à l'histoire d'une ville du delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique (BdE, 74)*, Cairo.
- Vernus, P. 1979. 'Douch arraché aux sables', *BSFE* 85, 7-2.
- Vernus, P. 1982. 'Namengebung', in W. Helck – E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ* IV, 328-330
- Vernus, P. 2001. *Sagesses de l'Égypte pharaonique*, Paris.
- Virey, P. 1886. 'Le tombeau d'Am-n-teh et la fonction de [hieroglyphs]', *RT* 7, 32-46.
- Virey, P. 1889. *Le Tombeau de Rekhmare, Préfet de Thèbes sous la XVIIIe Dynastie (MMAF 5, 1)*, Paris.

- Virey, P. 1891. *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe dynastie* (MMAF 5, 2), Paris.
- Vittman, G. 1978. *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*, Wien.
- Vittmann G. 1998. *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2 vols. (ÄAT, 38), Harrassowitz and Wiesbaden.
- Vogelsang, F. 1913. *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, Leipzig.
- Volten, A. 1945. *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften* (AnOr, 6), Kopenhagen.
- Vomberg, P. 2004. *Das Erscheinungsfenster ist ein neues Element der ägyptischen Palastarchitektur zur Zeit des Echnaton*, Wiesbaden.
- Ward, W. A. 1982. *Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles of the Middle Kingdom: with a glossary of words and phrases used*, Beirut.
- Ward, W. A. 1978. *Studies on Scarab Seals. Pre-12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets, Vol. I*, Warminster.
- Weatherhead, F. 1992. 'Painted Pavements in the Great Palace at Amarna', *JEA* 78, 179–94.
- Weatherhead, F. 1994. 'Wall-paintings from the North Harim in the Great Palace at Amarna', *JEA* 80, 198–201.
- Weatherhead, F. 1995. 'Wall-paintings from the King's House at Amarna', *JEA* 81, 95–113.
- Weatheread, F. J. 2007. *Amarna Palace Paintings* (EES MEMOIRS, 78), London.
- Wb I-IV: Erman, A., Grapow, H. 1971. *Wörterbuch der Aegyptische Sprache*, 5 vols., Berlin.
- Wente, E. F. 1967. *Late Ramesside Letters* (SAOC, 33), Chicago.
- Wente, E. F. 1980. 'The Gurob Letter to Amenhotep IV', *Serapis* 6, 209-15.
- Wente, E. F. 1985. 'A New Look at the viceroy Setau's Autobiographical Inscriptions', in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokthar II* (BdE, 97), Cairo, 347-359.
- Wente, E. F. 1990. *Letters from ancient Egypt*, Atlanta.
- Werbrouck, M. 1949. *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth*, Bruxelles.

- Wessetzky, V. 1997. 'An der Grenze von Literatur und Geschichte, in Assmann, J. – Feucht, E. – Grieshammer, R. (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, 499-502.
- Whittemore, T. 1926. 'The excavations at El-'Amarnah, season 1924-5', *JEA* 12, 3-12.
- Wiedeman, A. 1885. 'Die saitischen Monumente des Vatikan', *RT* 6, 1885, 115-124.
- Wiener, M. H. and Allen, J. P. 1998. 'Separate Lives: The Ahmose Tempest Stela and the Theran Eruption', *JNES* 57, 1-28.
- Willems, H. O. 1983-1984. 'The Nomarchs of the Hare Nome and Early Middle Kingdom History', *JEOL* 28, 80-102.
- Williams, C. R. 1918. 'The Egyptian Collection in the Museum of Art at Cleveland, Ohio'. *JEA* 5, 166-178.
- Williams, C. R. 1926. 'The cylinder seal of King Userkare', *ZÄS* 61, 81-3.
- Wilson, J. A. 1938. 'The Megiddo Ivories', *American Journal of Archaeology* 42, 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1938), 333-336.
- Wilson, J. A. 1927. 'The Texts of the Battle of Kadesh', *AJSL* 43, 266-70.
- Wilson, P. 2009. 'Sais', *World Archaeology* 36, 44. <http://www.world-archaeology.com/features/sais/>
- Winlock, H. 1912. 'The Work of the Egyptian Expedition', *BMMA* 7, 184-190.
- Winlock, H. E. 1915. 'The Work of the Egyptian Expedition', *BMMA* 10, 253-56.
- Winlock, H. E. 1942. *Excavations at Deir el-bahari, 1911-1931*, New York.
- Winlock, R. 1947. *The rise and fall of the middle kingdom in Thebes*, New York.
- Winkler, E. H. 1889, 'Verzeichniss der aus dem Funde von El-. Amarna herrührenden Thontafeln', *ZÄS* 27, 42-64.
- de Wit, C. - Mertens, P. 1962. 'The Epigraphic Mission to Kumma and Semna (1961). Report and Results', *Kush* 10, 118-149.
- Wolf, W. 1924. 'Vorläufer der Reformation Echnatons', *ZÄS* 59, 109-119.

Wolf, W. 1931. *Das schöne Fest von Opet – Die Festzugsdarstellung im grossen Säulengange des Tempels von Luksor*, Leipzig.

Wreszinski W. 1915. 'Eine Statue aus der 22. Dynastie', *OLZ* 18, 353-9.

Wreszinski, W. 1927. *Bericht über die photographische Expedition von Kairo bis Wadi Halfa zwecks Abschluß der Materialsammlung für meinen Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Tübingen.

Wrenzinski, W. 1932-40. *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Leipzig.

Yoyotte, J. 1952. 'Notes d'Histoire et de Civilization Éthiopiennes', *BIFAO* 51, 1-39.

Yoyotte, J. 1960. 'Néchao ou Néko', in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* VI, Paris, 363–93.

Yoyotte, J. 1972. 'Pétoubastis III', *RdÉ* 24, 216-223.

Zauzich, K. T. 1992. 'Ein Zug nach Nubien unter Amasis', in J. H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society* (SAOC, 51), Chicago, 361-364.

Žába, Z. 1956. *Les maximes de Ptahhotep. Éditions de l'Académie Tchecoslovaque des Sciences*, Prague.

Zivie, A. 1990. *Découverte à Saqqarah: le vizir obliè*, Paris.

Zivie-Coche C. 1976. *Giza au deuxième millénaire* (BdE, 70), Cairo.